

IN THESE TIMES

Marathon!
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50 Cents

LEBANON: THE DISASTERS OF WAR

BY JOHN JUDIS



THE INSIDE STORY

Photos/Ken Firestone



The trials of Sophie: urban desperation

By Nicholas Carbone

For many Americans, urban problems are a faceless, impersonal barrage of dreary statistics cast against a tableau of "frauds, cheats, and lazy bums who don't want to work," and instead choose to inflate the welfare roles. Abandoned housing is evidence that "you can't give them a decent place to live—they'll only destroy it."

"They" of course aren't perceived as victims of social and economic forces totally out of their control, let alone as people with ordinary hopes and dream. Yet, in many cases, that is the situation.

Take Sophie S., as an example. Sophie is a Jewish woman, an Eastern European immigrant who came to Hartford, Conn., in search of the American dream. She worked hard in the days when Hartford still had low and semi-skilled factory jobs to offer newcomers—and saved enough to buy a rental property. She used the income from it to buy another. Eventually, she had six small apartment buildings, all within walking distance.

Over the years, she repeatedly refused to sell, even when offered substantial profits. She planned to retire with a dependable income. She did not plan on a dramatic shift in the social and economic fabric of older American cities like Hartford.

The factory jobs—the jobs that had made it possible for Sophie and millions of other immigrants to carve out new lives for themselves—left the cities. Between 1966 and 1975, Hartford lost 41 percent of its manufacturing jobs. Meanwhile, as farming became more efficient and more highly technical, 20 million former farm workers re-settled in cities like Hartford in a 20-year period.

While the businesses that remained in cities began to automate their low-skill jobs out of existence, the labor market became more competitive and people with the least experience and the lowest skill levels were left behind. The unemployment ranks swelled and Sophie's dream became a nightmare.

Sophie's tenants had always been the newcomers to the city. They lived in multi-family housing until they saved enough from their laborer's paycheck to buy a two- or three-family house of their own. Sophie under-

stood that desire—it had motivated her.

But now, more and more of Sophie's tenants were out of work—and unable to find new jobs. When unemployment benefits ran out, Sophie's tenants were forced to go on welfare. In 1976, Connecticut's welfare payments were 40 percent below the cost of food, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities. Jobless tenants fell behind on rent.

It was the same story in the building next door—and on the next street. Absentee landlords began delaying repairs. One, then two buildings were boarded up and abandoned.

Tenants who still had jobs could feel the neighborhood sliding. If they could afford it, they moved out.

Sophie fought for her buildings. She was willing to keep them in good repair, even when she wasn't collecting rent—but banks refused to lend her the money. So, one by one, the buildings deteriorated until they became safety hazards.

It was a classic Catch-22 situation—and Sophie lost. Five of her six buildings have been condemned and destroyed. Sophie remains, in her '80s, barricaded inside the scarred shell of her last remaining building in a once-attractive neighborhood that is now a wasteland.

All across the country, men and women like Sophie—and Sophie's tenants—have been crushed by a system in which they put their utmost faith. They were not responsible for automation, or federal farm policies, or international trade deficits, or inflation—or any of the factors that have contributed to the urban crisis. Viewed individually, some of their problems may seem insignificant. Collectively, they make America the second worst industrialized nation in the world, after France, in terms of the disparity between its haves and have-nots. Consider some of the worst inequities.

★ **Taxes**—the poor pay more. A 1974 study at Western Kentucky University found that the American family of four with an income of \$5,000 paid an average of 11.3 percent of its adjusted gross income in state and local taxes in 1974. The family with an income of \$50,000, however, paid only 7.8 percent.

The trend is towards even more disparities. A Cambridge Institute study in 1972 showed that wealthy Americans are paying proportionately less taxes than they were 20 years ago—while lower and middle income Americans are paying more and more.

Federal tax credits favor the rich over the poor, too. A 1972 Brookings Institution study revealed that America's six million poorest families received a total of approximately \$90 million in tax credits. That's about \$15 apiece. The 3,000 richest American families that year received federal tax credits of more than \$2 billion—an average of \$667,000 per family.

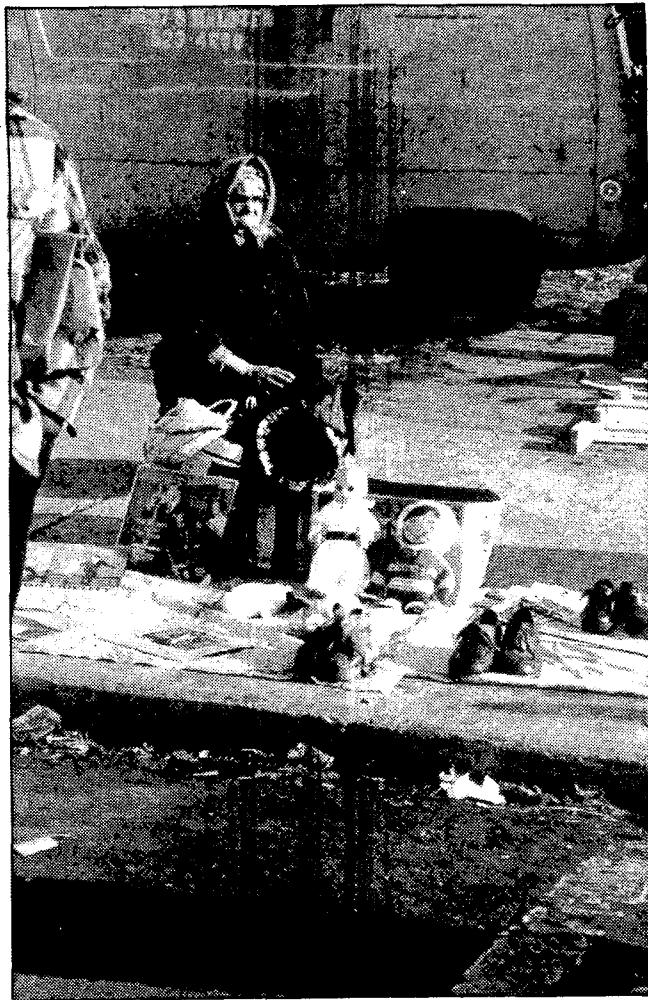
★ **Energy**—Utility companies frequently base their rates on volume, so that the more a customer uses the less he pays per unit of energy. That policy discriminates against the poor as well as the consumer who is trying to conserve energy.

★ **Lending Policies and Insurance Rates**—While anti-redlining laws are coming on the books, banks still find ways to avoid loans in certain neighborhoods. One lending institution in Hartford offered a prospective homeowner a 12-year mortgage at an interest rate substantially higher than it was charging in the suburbs—if he could come up with a 50 percent downpayment. Insurance companies use similar methods to avoid writing policies for poor people who live in cities. Any Hartford resident who owns a car, for example, pays significantly higher insurance premiums than the suburban resident—regardless of the individual's driving record.

★ **Health Care**—Americans like to think of themselves as the wealthiest, healthiest people in the world—but it's just not true. Poor Americans go through life ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed. And they die at a younger age. On

the average, wealthy Americans live six years longer than poor people. Our infant mortality rate is higher than that of 14 other nations.

★ **Employment and Income**—Economist John Kenneth Galbraith tells us that 96 percent of the jobs paying more than \$15,000 are held by white males. By conservative estimates, 40 percent of all black teenagers are unemployed—and looking for their first job.



This disparity in income is startling and growing. According to Lester C. Thurow, professor of economics and management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "The richest 10 percent of our households receive 26.1 percent of our income, while the poorest 10 percent receive only 1.7 percent... If we look at the distribution of physical wealth, the top 20 percent owns 80 percent of all that can be privately owned in the U.S., and the bottom 25 percent owns nothing."

For many reasons, a highly disproportionate share of the Americans victimized by these inequities live in cities. Agriculture no longer provides jobs. Suburbs aren't designed for poor people. We have concentrated lower-income housing in cities. Only in cities is it possible to get around without an automobile. So most of our so-called "urban" problems really are problems of the poor—and if we improve the condition of people who live in cities, the conditions of the cities will improve too.

Cities need to attract new residents, but the danger is that this rapid shift will unleash a kind of block-busting in reverse. Unless we upgrade people as well as buildings the poor will be pushed out in the older, inner ring of suburbs, replacing the urban crisis of today with a "suburban crisis" five or 15 years from now.

So in the end it's not a question of an urban, suburban or rural crisis we face, but a matter of social justice, of human rights and equity, a challenge to turn the purpose of government to what Thomas Jefferson said it should be: "The care of human life and happiness, and not its destruction..."

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Carter pushes gas bonanza

By David Moberg

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION's desperate desire to improve the President's political standing at home and abroad is yielding a potential disaster in Congress: a compromise natural gas section of the energy bill that virtually nobody really likes, not even the gas producer front men in Congress who have already won a corporate bonanza.

Last year both the House and Senate passed natural gas legislation as part of the National Energy Plan. The House stuck close to Carter's original proposal, which would have kept interstate gas regulated but immediately increased the price of newly discovered gas to \$1.75 per thousand cubic feet (mcf) from the current price ceiling of \$1.48. The Senate voted for deregulation of gas prices within two years and granted even higher interim prices.

For the past five months the joint conference committee assigned to negotiate these differences has considered a series of compromises, each of which collapsed. Most of the time it was only a select group from the committee that met in the effort to strike a deal. On April 21 this group announced that it had reached a new agreement. New natural gas would be deregulated after 1985. The price of natural gas would immediately go up to \$1.75, with regular increases each year 3 or 4 percent above the national rate of inflation. A complicated plan would charge higher prices to industrial users of boiler fuel. They would pay a price for natural gas equal to the world market fuel oil price, well above even the escalated gas schedule for residential users.

A committee vote on this proposal was delayed several times as administration officials, Democratic leaders in Congress and even Carter himself counted an opposition that appeared to be capable of defeating the latest compromise—dubbed the "mushroom" bill by consumer opponents because it was "grown in the dark."

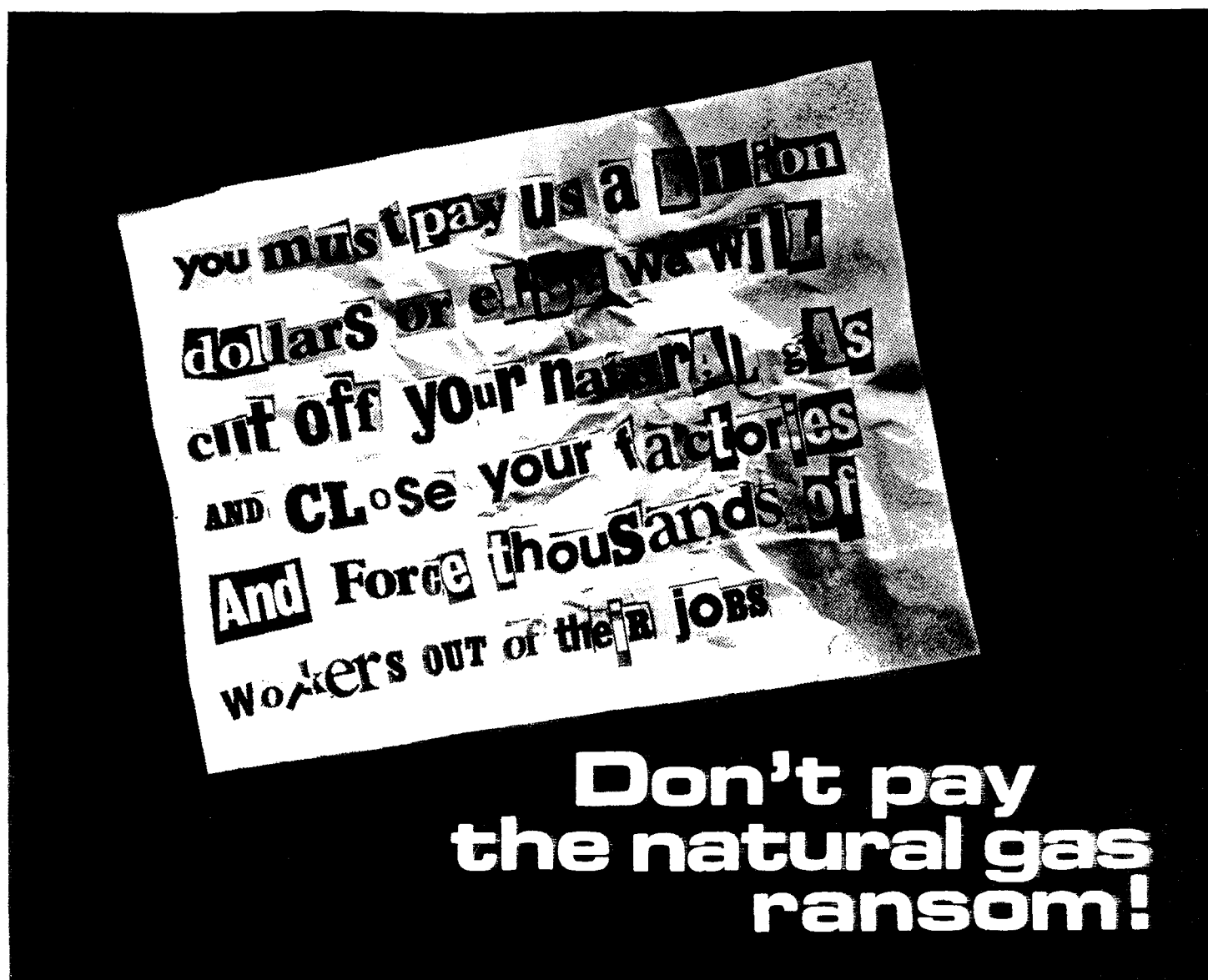
The opposition is an odd alliance, with Republicans and a few gas-state Democrats who want even higher prices and quicker deregulation joining a few liberal Democrats who remain adamant against any deregulation in stalling the compromise. Backing it is a generally discontented lot of Democrats who don't feel comfortable with the bill—especially since many have been long-time opponents of deregulation—but who are under intense pressure to deliver some bill, any bill, to make Carter appear capable of legislating an energy program.

If the compromise is reported out of the committee for a final decision by the House and Senate, it will be in large part because, as one staff member said, "people are tired out. People are fed up with the issue."

Some committee members also believe that in order to extend federal jurisdiction over unregulated gas sold within producer states, they must abandon effective control over the price—as this bill does.

Shifting trade-offs.

A natural gas bill had appeared to be the price Sen. Russell Long, from gas-producing Louisiana, was exacting for consideration of the energy plan tax provisions—including everything from the wellhead tax on oil to various tax incentives that were the main thrusts of the original Carter plan. But then last week House Speaker "Tip" O'Neill acknowledged that the tax section was virtually dead in any case. He announced that it would be separated from the gas section and three parts already approved by the conferees (coal conversion, conservation and utility rate reform). That was also a bid for support on gas deregulation from Rep. Henry Reuss (D-WI), who was adamantly opposed to the tax bill, but a gamble at losing the gas vote of Rep. James Corman (D-CA), who has said that he certainly wouldn't vote for gas deregulation without the tax package. As IN THESE TIMES



Above, an illustration from an Energy Action Coalition broadside against deregulation of natural gas prices. It appears, however, that Congress will cave in to the gas companies and pay their ransom.

Can Jimmy Carter persuade voters that he is an effective President by pushing a costly, pro-industry natural gas bill through Congress? Apparently he thinks so.

went to press, nobody seemed very sure which way the vote would go in the committee.

Throughout the whole process a determined band of Republicans and oil-state Democrats have pushed the committee and—starting in March—the administration closer and closer to the industry position. Their power increased early this year when Sen. Lee Metcalf, an outspoken opponent of deregulation, died. None of the Republicans was willing to break ranks individually, but the Democrats were scattered all over the board.

Administration claims.

Administration defenders of the current compromise argue that it provides precisely enough money to stimulate the maximum feasible increase in gas production but stops short of permitting windfall profits. They also claim that the higher prices will encourage conservation. At the same time they assert that gas will be substituted for imported oil and reduce the balance of payments deficit—even though the bill will drive gas prices up toward the imported oil cost and reduce incentive for substitution.

Although the administration surrendered to deregulation pressures for political reasons, a Department of Energy official argued that deregulation would "provide a test of whether we can have a competitive, rational market in this industry." At the same time, a Congressional aide who was also pushing the bill argued that Congress or the President would undoubtedly take advantage of the bill's clause permitting reimposition of controls, meaning that the bill provides "deregulation but not in our lifetime."

Criticisms.

Opponents of the compromise argue that the current \$1.48 price already provides more incentive than the companies need, especially since that price is far higher than the 26 cents agreed to by producers as a reasonable price through 1977 or the 1976

court finding that 52 cents was a "just and reasonable" price. They denounce the new bill as, in the words of an aide to Sen. James Abourezk (S-SD), "not a compromise but another giveaway program to industry. Its only issue is how quickly to get to deregulation and a transfer of wealth from consumers to the industry. If the transfer is too blatant, people get upset."

Energy Action, part of the new Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and one of the principal anti-deregulation lobbying forces, calculates that the compromise bill will cost Americans (in constant dollars) close to \$50 billion more between now and 1985 than they would pay if the new Federal Energy Regulatory Commission vigorously enforced existing law. Energy Action also claims that FERC can assert more control over gas now diverted to intrastate markets. Taking all this into account, they argue that the compromise would cost the average family \$2,500-\$3,000 by 1985.

Backers of the compromise, however, work from different assumptions. They calculate that FERC would continue to push up gas prices rapidly. Perhaps, they speculate, Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger may influence FERC to deregulate. Or a more conservative Congress might do the same damage by law in the next session. Consequently, they argue that the compromise bill will cost between now and 1985 only \$9 billion more than a continuation of the *status quo*, extended according to their projections.

Although the staff of the House subcommittee on Energy and Power concludes that the new compromise would yield \$23 billion more to producers than the House-passed bill, they argue that the original House bill would have cut industry revenue by \$14 billion by comparison with extending current law. Energy Action argues that even the original House bill would have produced at least a \$12 billion bonus for the gas companies.

No matter what figures one accepts, it is clear that the new compromise would greatly spur the inflation that President Carter so piously decried while slapping a cap on federal workers' pay and simultaneously lobbying aggressively for the gas bill. There is no assurance that the new incentives will be used to produce more gas. Several studies by agencies such as the Congressional Budget Office and the General Accounting Office have concluded that the boosted prices under Carter's plan would not stimulate significant increases in gas production. Oil companies already have substantial profits that are being plowed into unrelated industries rather than energy development. With full deregulation beckoning in 1985, the gas producers can be expected to hold back production in anticipation of even higher future prices. The fundamental problem faced by all of these plans is that the gas companies have the power and the government can regulate them or try to motivate them with more money but it cannot command them to act in the public interest.

The compromise is not only inflationary but also bad energy policy in other regards, according to Barry Commoner, author of *Poverty of Power*. Natural gas, he argues, is an ideal fuel to bridge the gap between our present energy economy and a solar society that would rely heavily on methane from biomass conversion. Consequently, its price should be kept close to costs of production, not artificially jacked up.

Inflationary, cumbersome, unfair in redistributing wealth, bad energy policy—all these and more accusations are leveled at the compromise. So why is it being pushed? "This bill is not being driven because we need a gas bill," one Congressional staff person said in a candid but misguided anonymous comment. "It's more being driven because of the state of the dollar overseas. Long ago we transcended the issue of natural gas pricing."

Continued on page 7.

IN THE NATION

LABOR

Culinary workers oust union boss

By Jeff Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO

ARE! WATCHDOGS—NOT FAT Cats” is a battle cry that this city’s labor and political leaders aren’t likely to forget. ARF, the Alliance of the Rank and File, just grabbed the reins of San Francisco’s largest union, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union, Local 2.

In the process they deposed one of San Francisco’s most powerful labor leaders, formed working alliances with other area rank and file movements and offered a breath of fresh air for 17,000 union members upset by the management of fancy hotels and restaurants and by the unresponsiveness of their union leaders.

Election day, April 11, brought 5,500 members to the polls; the line of voters stretched for one-and-a-half of San Francisco’s long blocks; candidates and supporters out-screamed the downtown traffic and bombarded unionists with slate cards, promises and loads of free advice.

The unionist maids, waiters, waitresses, bartenders, cooks and busepersons elected 14 of 23 ARF candidates and pitched president Joseph Belardi out of office by a margin of over 500 votes.

Much of the campaign focused on Belardi and his move to centralize power in the local. This was Local 2’s first election. Two and a half years ago Local 2 came into being as a merger of six culinary locals. The merger and Belardi’s appointment to the presidency was done from above—sanctioned and implemented by Hotel and Restaurant Employees International president Edward Hanley.

The new president, ARF’s David McDonald, accused Belardi of trying to “Teamsterize” the local. “Belardi had eight union employees—business agents and dispatchers—running for the local’s executive board. The board should be made up of rank and file. He tried to make the machine tight. What we want is basic trade union democracy. The trade union movement has become a business. Belardi buys that, he concedes that it is a business. I don’t buy it.”

McDonald, at 44, is one of ARF’s oldest members. He worked a 7½-hour shift as a chef at the St. Francis Hotel right up to election day. It was a sharp contrast to the 64-year-old Belardi, who has been a paid union official since 1939.

Belardi, an ex-cook, is also a vice president of the half-million member international union, president of the San Francisco Labor Council and a mainstay of San Francisco labor/Democratic party politics. None of ARF’s winning leaders have ever held office within the local.

ARF’s platform calls for elected business agents, a strong shop steward program with elected stewards, rank and file contract negotiating committees, contracts ratified by secret ballot and printed in four languages, an end to officers’ high salaries, an end to discrimination within the union, better pensions and medical benefits, a living wage for all union members.

As his first act as president, McDonald gave five union employees elected to the executive board 24 hours to decide to keep either their union jobs or their position on the board—but not both.

ARF sprang from caucus after caucus created and dissolved by dissidents within Local 2 and its predecessors over the past five years. Too often these caucuses spent time debating imperialism or the role of Third World workers and too little time discussing the needs of Local 2’s members, according to McDonald and Winston Ching, a new local vice president and ex-buseperson at Senior Pico on Fisherman’s Wharf.



As 5,500 union members voted April 11, the rival slates solicited their support. The rank and file caucus, ARF, got the bulk of it.

While the caucus split over political questions, the union’s membership’s dissatisfaction over Belardi’s administration mushroomed. Members’ hostility was aimed at the ineffectiveness of Belardi’s appointed business agents, an increase in dependent’s cost for the union’s medical plan, rumors of mob influence over the international and the failure to organize any restaurants on Union Street, a new playground for San Francisco’s jet setters, after some half-million dollars were spent on the effort.

In early 1977, Belardi pushed for a dues increase and was surprised when several thousand members appeared at three

meetings scheduled over a single day. Members adamantly opposed the increase and Belardi withdrew the proposal, only to reintroduce it a few months later.

The dissident caucus had little to do with the first response to the dues increase but organized for the second. They managed to turn the campaign for the increase around to an examination of where union money was going—aiming right at a comparison of officials’ salaries versus union members’ income. Belardi’s income including expenses was \$710 per week, which compares with a maid’s income of \$130 and the highest paid union chef’s income of \$256.

The new leadership faces many problems, including the touchy question of how to institute effective rank and file control in a union long run by the president and a few dozen business agents, dispatchers and organizers.

At the same time, they must look to a battle with the city’s restaurant and hotel owners. In the fall, Local 2 starts contract negotiations with the Hotel Employers Association that will affect 9,000 workers. The employers are sure to play on any disharmony in the local to reduce the power of the union.

Jeff Johnson is a free-lance reporter in the Bay Area.

Power struggle in Teamster union

By Dan Marshall

CHICAGO

ABITTER, ESCALATING power struggle for the presidency of the 2.2-million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters has taken its first victim: Daniel Shannon, executive director of the union’s giant Central States Pension Fund and Health and Welfare Fund.

At an April 19 board meeting in Chicago fund trustees fired Shannon, who, since being named director in 1973, has inaugurated several reforms in fund procedures that have moved it away from the influence of organized crime figures.

Behind the ouster was Roy Williams, a Kansas City Teamster official who leads the Central Conference, the largest and most powerful regional Teamster organization. Government reports have tied Williams closely to organized crime. He and Jackie Presser, head of the Ohio Teamsters, are battling to succeed Frank Fitzsimmons, current Teamster president, who is expected to resign soon due to governmental and rank-and-file pressures.

Control of the Central States Pension Fund, with \$1.6 billion in assets, is a central component of this struggle. Loans from the fund are eagerly sought by Teamster officials and their associates around

the country. Whoever holds the fund’s purse strings also has the good will of these officials, whose votes can push Fitzsimmons out of office. The firing of Shannon is Williams’ latest move to dominate the fund’s administration and strengthen his ties with powerful mob-connected individuals around the union.

Before Shannon’s tenure, the Pension Fund was largely dominated by Allen Dorfman, a millionaire insurance executive that government reports have identified as a major link between the Teamsters and organized crime. (When Jimmy Hoffa went to prison, he instructed his subordinates to approve loan requests okayed by Dorfman, the stepson of Paul “Red” Dorfman, an important figure in the Chicago Al Capone gang.) Dorfman was a \$60,000-per-year consultant to the fund up to 1972, when he was convicted and imprisoned for accepting a \$55,000 kickback for arranging one loan.

Dorfman still swings weight in the Central States Health and Welfare Fund. Six Dorfman-connected insurance agencies process the claims of union members, doing \$6-7 million per year worth of business with the fund, according to government estimates. In July 1977, days before the Labor department initiated a probe of the Health and Welfare Fund, trustees voted a ten-year extension of their contract with a Dorfman firm.

Shannon, on the other hand, has tried to cut Dorfman’s influence in both funds in order to clean up their public image and reduce federal intervention. Last year Shannon negotiated a settlement with the federal government in which the trustees of the pension fund resigned and the management of its assets was placed in the hands of the Equitable Life Assurance Society. In March, when he testified before a congressional committee, he objected to any future association of the health and welfare fund with Dorfman. Shortly afterward, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, trustees voted informally to get rid of him.

Government reforms, ironically, have strengthened Roy Williams’ influence in the funds. As head of the Central Conference, Williams hand-picked four out of the five new union trustees for the pension fund. He is also a close personal friend of one of the employer trustees, giving him half the votes on the ten-person board.

As rumors about Fitzsimmons’ imminent “retirement” spread, competitors for his job took sides on the Dorfman/Shannon conflict. Williams aligned himself with Dorfman while Presser apparently agreed with Shannon that Dorfman’s notoriety encourages federal pressure on the union. With Shannon out of the way, fund trustees are moving to reverse the administrative reforms he implemented.

LABOR

Farmworkers move into citrus

By Sam Kushner

OXNARD, CALIF.

ALTHOUGH IT HAS RECEIVED little public notice, the United Farm Workers union has been making impressive gains here. Approximately one-third of this area's 13,000 agricultural workers are now represented by the UFW, and 15 companies are under contract with the union.

It all began at the end of March when more than a thousand citrus workers, employed in what is probably the largest series of citrus groves in California, walked off the job at ranches affiliated with the Coastal Growers Association. Interestingly, the UFW was not actively organizing at any of these ranches at the time. Some of the workers were union members, however, having signed up at other locations where they worked under union contract.

"The workers struck on wages, conditions, food—just about everything," said Roberto de la Cruz, UFW director for Ventura County. "It was definitely worker organized. They organized themselves and came to the union and said they were ready to have an election. We went over to the camp and by God they were really organized."

Under a unique provision of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, striking workers can demand and get a representation election with 48 hours if it is shown that at least 51 percent of the employees have struck. The strike at the Coastal Growers groves was solid and there was no difficulty in making such a showing.

On March 31 the Coastal Growers workers cast their ballots and overwhelmingly chose the UFW, 897-42.

The election, the largest one so far involving striking workers, "sparked a new drive" among farm workers, says de la Cruz. Workers at the nearby Casitas Farms decided to go the same route. They struck and demanded an election, which the UFW also won, 64-1.

The Coastal Growers workers, however, were soon back on strike. After the election, workers returned to work, but then negotiations reached an impasse; the company wanted to meet only once a week on the new contract. A slowdown was organized, whereupon the company laid off all the workers. UFW workers from other

areas have come to Oxnard to demonstrate their support for the workers, and the union has been providing some assistance to the striking families.

The union won a third victory in citrus when workers at the Limoniera Company groves in nearby Santa Paula voted 191-83 for UFW representation.

In late April the UFW turned its attention to the unorganized strawberry fields, winning an impressive first victory at the Sea Breeze Berry Farms by a four-to-one margin.

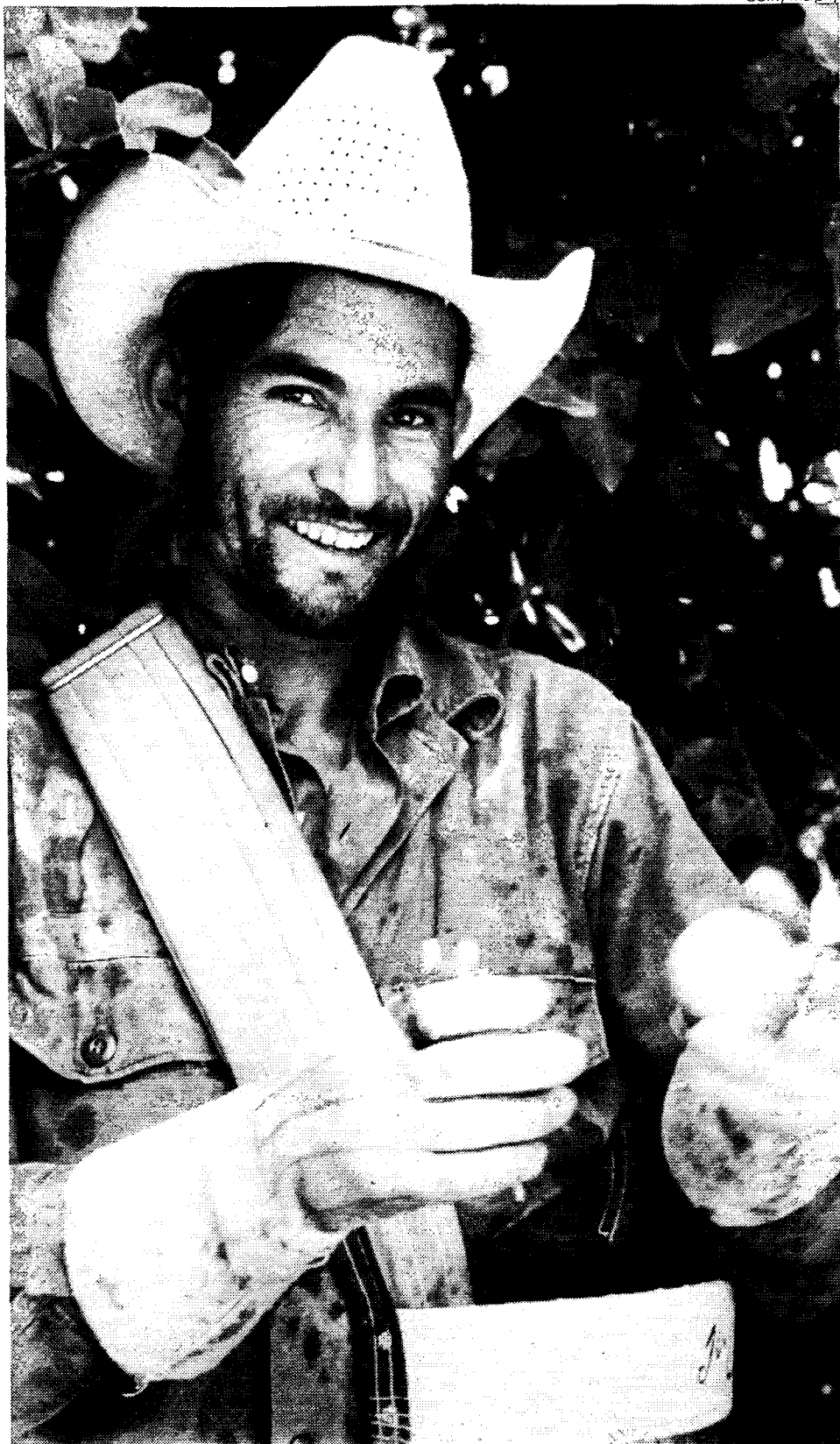
One of the most satisfying of the recent victories here came at the Egg City ranch, the site of an intense UFW-Teamster confrontation in 1975. At that time a representation election was held—while UFW members were on strike—that gave the Teamsters the right to represent the Egg City workers. The California ALRB, however, ruled that striking UFW workers had been illegally deprived of their right to vote. When 161 contested ballots were counted on April 18, the UFW emerged with a majority of all votes cast in both elections, 245-202. (Collecting the contested ballots was a herculean task in itself. Eighteen of the workers who had been denied their vote, for instance, were living in southern Mexico and had to travel 32 hours by bus to cast their ballots.)

Eliseo Medina, UFW vice president scheduled to become the union's director of organization, says, "It's pretty clear that the workers are asking for representation. They've gone for many years without representation when the union has been most active in grapes and vegetables. The people in citrus have been left behind in wages, benefits and protections. They wanted the protection of a union and they are willing to struggle as hard as it takes to get that."

Medina predicts that the UFW will meet its goal of 100,000 workers under contract in California by the end of the year. The union, he adds, is also preparing to move into other states in the near future.

On April 20 a panel of three federal judges made it easier for the UFW to organize in Arizona when they declared that state's farm labor law, passed in 1972 with the backing of the Farm Bureau, unconstitutional. That law barred strikes at harvest time and was clearly stacked in favor of the growers.

Sam Kushner is a reporter for WPKF in Los Angeles and the author of Long Road to Delano.



The UFW was not actively organizing in the Ventura County citrus groves. But the workers were and when they were ready they came to the union for their support and representation, sparking a wave of strikes and election victories.

ENERGY

Alternative technology center director fired

By Jim Robbins

BUTTE, MONT.

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR Appropriate Technology (NCAT) proposed three years ago, was heralded as a landmark in federally funded programs. NCAT was to be an autonomous, decentralized organization that would fund alternative energy studies with an emphasis on low income people.

Arguments over the center's purpose, political power games and personality clashes have rendered the center all but ineffective, and finally resulted in the firing of director James F. Schimdt on April 21.

Alternative energy advocates initially had high hopes for NCAT, which was established on the theory that appropriate technology has the potential to solve many of the problems associated with non-fossil fuel energy.

NCAT's problems began with the Community Services Administration (CSA) and Montana Energy Research and Development Institute's (MERDI) failure to

be honest with the planning committee about under-the-table commitments, according to Tom Bender, a member of the planning committee.

"There existed an implicit agreement," he wrote, "to locate NCAT in Butte and pump a lot of money into its mined out economy, regardless of whether it would help or hinder an effective operation," he says.

According to Schimdt, one reason for his dismissal was his belief that NCAT should combine the technical, political and social aspects of alternative technology by stressing community involvement, decentralization of power sources and an energy system dependent upon local resources. NCAT was funding small scale alternative energy studies that would be designed according to the environmental specifics of a community.

One NCAT grant, for instance, went to the Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine to fund a study of tidal power—the derivation of power from the change in the ocean's tides. Another NCAT grant went to a group of low income housing people in New York City known as the "11th Street Movement." This grant allowed

the group to retrofit their tenements with alternative power sources including solar heating.

On the other hand, Schimdt says, CSA sees the center's scope as much less broad, and does not want NCAT to get involved in the social aspects of alternative energy. The CSA would rather NCAT help implement CSA's weatherization and insulation program, he argues.

According to CSA spokesperson Mary Ann McKenzie, the board of directors fired Schimdt because of an "unresponsive grant process." "The board has heard a lot of criticism from local groups that the grant process is long and elaborate and is not responsive," she said. "And they question the efficacy of the worker management system that requires a vote from 50 persons for every decision."

Schimdt says that it is true the grant system is long and elaborate, but he blames it on the CSA, which controls the board of directors by a plurality of votes.

Dennis Holloway, a member of the board of directors who resigned and stalked out of the meeting when the vote to fire Schimdt passed, says that the primary reason that Schimdt was fired was a

personality clash between CSA head Dick Saul and Schimdt. "The CSA has been withholding funding from NCAT until Schimdt is fired because Dick Saul doesn't like Jim Schimdt," Holloway says. "It's as simple as that."

"Saul's the kind of person who's used to being in charge of things," said a NCAT employee, "and when Schimdt tried to take charge of NCAT and make it autonomous, Saul didn't like it. This is his effort to take control back."

NCAT's funding has been withheld by CSA since October. The center has survived on money left over from last year but has only enough funds to last until June 1st.

Although Schimdt believes that the future of the center is in doubt, interim director Hiram Shaw believes this isn't so. "We've received assurances from the board of directors," he said. "As soon as funding is restored, and we've received assurances that it will be restored by June 1, we will resume normal operations."

Jim Robbins is a free-lance writer a regular contributor to Borrowed Time Missoula, Mont.

By The Red Cent Collective

ECONOMICS

President's plan full of holes

Solutions to the nation's economic problems will require structural change. But Carter doesn't consider that an option.

THE 1977 *ECONOMIC REPORT of the President* has just hit the bookstands. While its attempted resurrection of the free enterprise system may be less spectacular than President Carter's sister Ruth's rebirth, its effects are sure to be wider reaching.

The report, which is put out annually by the President's Council of Economic Advisers, takes stock of our economy as we enter the third year of "expansion." The rhetoric is optimistic, but the substance of the report tells another story. In fact, Carter's real message is that we're in for economic stagnation unless we sweeten the economic climate for business. Worse still, the data in the report suggest a deepening structural impasse. Carter and the business community may have just about run out of sweeteners.

By some standards 1977 was a good year. The total amount of goods and services, our Gross National Product, grew by almost 5 percent above and beyond a persistent 6 percent inflation rate. Corporate profits after taxes grew even faster. And four million new jobs were created, an all-time record.

Yet the healthy performance of 1977 has left us with a "recovery" that doesn't seem much like one. The official unemployment rate was 7 percent for 1977. That's an annual rate higher than at any time during the '50s and '60s. Whole sections of the population have been bypassed in this "upswing," particularly blacks and other minorities.

The official unemployment rate for blacks is twice that for whites. And conceding that the official rates are misleading, the report notes that "the true nature of black teenage unemployment might approach 57 percent instead of the reported 39 percent."

Equally uninspiring have been recent trends in the rate of productivity growth, a measure of output per person-hour. Productivity is an indicator of economic growth and the key to the ability to compete in world markets. Over the past decade productivity has grown at a sluggish rate of 1.7 percent, or barely half of its average level in the two previous decades.

Partly in response to this lagging productivity, American exports declined in

real value while imports expanded. The result: an unprecedented \$31 billion balance of trade deficit and a drastic decline in the value of the dollar on world money markets.

Recent signs have not been encouraging either. The first three months of 1978 witnessed the first quarterly decline in real GNP in three years. The Council of Economic Advisers' March publication of their "Index of Leading Indicators," a barometer of economic health, showed its sharpest drop in three years. April's indicators are no more optimistic. Price increases in the first three months of 1978 indicate a dramatic increase in the rate of inflation. The balance of trade deficit has taken off at an annual rate surpassing even last year's record levels.

Investment problem.

A major factor in these problems, according to the report, is the "singularly disappointing" performance of business investment. Investment levels reached in 1973 are still unmatched. And projections of the growth of investment for 1978, taking account of inflation, range from only 5 to 7 percent. Even if these projections prove to be accurate, they are below historical precedents and the Council expects a "widening gap."

The worry about investments stems from its key role in economic growth. Investment promotes productivity increases, which means more output with the same amount of input. The construction of plants and equipment creates jobs. That

means more paychecks, which means more demand for consumer goods and services, which means even more jobs.

But investment depends on profits. If capitalists do not anticipate profits, they will not invest.

Carter's primary strategy for stimulating business investment is a series of tax cuts, totalling \$28 billion. \$20 billion of this will go to individual taxpayers, which will approximately offset the increase in social security taxes. The remaining \$8 billion will go to business. (In comparison to the respective incomes of individual taxpayers and business, business gets a tax cut five times larger than that for individual taxpayers.)

But this strategy is not likely to increase investment. A lack of funds is not the problem. Corporations are rolling in dough—with \$60 billion in excess cash reserves in the 400 largest corporations. Since 1974 the growth rate of corporate profits has been three times that of actual investment. And after tax profits, including the interest paid to banks, was a larger share of total income in 1977 than in the booming '60s.

But business remains firm. "We're not going to spend our money on a new plant just because we're embarrassed about how much cash we have," said one corporate officer. "That wouldn't be prudent."

B. Charles Ames, president of Reliance Electric Co., a capital equipment firm, says, "Before business takes on new programs, they'll have to develop some confidence." The President's report echoes

this theme, citing a "residue of unease and caution." In other words, the major corporations are waiting for a business climate in which their long-run profitability is assured.

Inflation and doubt.

The common corporate complaint is inflation and the failure of wages to fall adequately in this recession. Domestic inflationary problems are made worse by international monetary instability—the decline of the dollar and the general chaos of international money markets.

Increases in the price of energy have also reduced investment, by making capital intensive spending more expensive relative to labor intensive spending. Companies may be holding back until the make-up and price of our energy supplies are more certain. Business also says government regulation on environmental protection and health and safety issues are inhibiting profitability.

Solutions to these problems will have to involve government restructuring of the economy. The tried and true methods of fiscal and monetary management no longer work. Recent government "pump priming" has been largely ineffectual. Government spending in excess of taxation has increased dramatically in the past three years to an average of \$40 billion a year. As a percentage of GNP, government deficits have increased 50 percent over the levels that promoted the more successful recovery of the late 1950s.

But the President's report offers little to solve the nation's economic problems. Its voluntary wage and price controls are unlikely to work. Informal diplomatic pressure on other countries to buy more of our goods (and to sell us less) has an equally poor track record. Carter's energy program is stymied, with no alternative in sight. And while his promise to reduce the "excessive scope of regulation" may be impressive to business, it cannot eliminate popular pressure for environmental and health and safety reforms.

In spite of its rosy predictions, the President's annual report provides little evidence that the government will be able to rejuvenate investment, and with it, the economy as a whole.

The Red Cent Collective is a group of socialist economists in Amherst, Mass.

HEALTH

Congress examines use of drugs in childbirth

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON

ALMOST FIVE YEARS AGO Suzanne Armstrong of Palo Alto, Calif., published an angry and eloquent book, *Immaculate Deception*, describing, and decrying, what she called the dehumanizing and dangerous effects of "The American Way of Birth" as practiced in most American hospitals. In the intervening years her protest has become a widespread movement of resistance and alternative building.

Last month, news of this resistance finally surfaced in the too-often barren halls of Congress. On Monday April 17, the Senate Health Subcommittee held a hearing to determine whether American obstetricians use too many drugs, too many machines and too frequent surgery on too many pregnant women. The trend of the discussion seemed to be toward a qualified "maybe so" judgment.

Among witnesses were U.S. Food and Drug commissioner Donald Kennedy and Doris Haire of the American Foundation for Maternal and Child Health. Commissioner Kennedy allowed that recent medical advances presented a "disturbing paradox. The very techniques and products that have helped improve prenatal care and decrease infant mortality have themselves raised new questions."

Excessive use of drugs during the delivery, he agreed, can "result in increased risk to the patient and distress to the fe-

tus. Beneficial techniques for monitoring fetal development—such as ultrasound—could, if misused, prove to be the agents of subtle, long-term pathological effects."

Haire was more definite in her opinions: "There is no doubt in my mind," she testified, "that at least a large percentage of learning-disabled and handicapped children result from obstetric practices which interfere with normal biochemical checks and balances provided by nature to assure the normal progression of labor and a good maternal and infant outcome."

Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY), who had asked that the hearing be held, said he was impressed by the criticisms of people, like Haire, "calling for extensive reform in our approach to the management of normally progressing births." And the subcommittee chairman, Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, added that as far as the safety of techniques like ultrasound fetal monitoring was concerned, "the time to find out is before millions of children are exposed. Otherwise we are playing an unjustifiable game of Russian roulette with the health of our children."

Unfortunately, many tens of thousands of American babies have already been exposed. The subcommittee staff released the results of an informal nationwide survey of 65 hospitals, which showed that 55 of the 63 institutions used fetal monitoring equipment on more than half their maternity patients.

Most of these hospitals also had rates of cesarian surgical deliveries in excess



Witnesses testified that there was no doubt in their minds that many learning disabilities were due to obstetric procedures and the use of drugs in childbirth.

of the nationwide rate of 11.4 percent, a rate that has increased dramatically in the past decade. One hospital in Alexandria, Va., had a caesarian rate of 42.5 percent. That compares with the caesarian rate in countries like Holland—where most births are at home or only minimally medicated, of 2 percent.

What legislative impact this brief hearing might ultimately have is unclear. It

could be the beginning of a long and difficult effort to change the "American Way of Birth" by federal action, or it could mean nothing at all. In any event, the session provides an object lesson in the importance of Washington in changing American society: Our national "leaders" in Congress will have to hustle hard to catch up with changes that are already well underway.

ENERGY

Breeder battle brews in Capitol

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON

JIMMY CARTER DID HIS BIT FOR Sun Day May 3 with a speech at the new federal Solar Energy Research Center in Colorado. That appearance was the brightest spot for him in a two-month storm of political struggle over new energy sources. Nothing has been more difficult for him than deciding what to do about the Clinch River Breeder Reactor project (CRBR).

CRBR is a huge nuclear power plant now under initial design construction near Oak Ridge, Tenn. At an ultimate cost of \$2-3 billion, CRBR is expected to produce 360 megawatts of electricity. It is also expected to produce more plutonium than it consumes.

CRBR will be the first major operating breeder reactor. As such, it has been the target of fierce criticism from opponents of nuclear power, who have asserted that CRBR is the first big step toward a "plutonium economy," an economy they say is full of dangers to health, environment, peace, and even civil liberties.

When he was a candidate courting voters, Jimmy Carter pledged to stop CRBR as part of an overall effort to slow the spread of nuclear weapons and facilities. Carter has been trying, at least publicly, to maintain this stance since moving into the White House. But Congress is very attached to the project.

Last November it sent him a bill authorizing \$80 million to continue CRBR. Carter vetoed it. In February, however, the House put the money into a bigger supplemental appropriations bill that the President couldn't afford to veto.

A sharp warning.

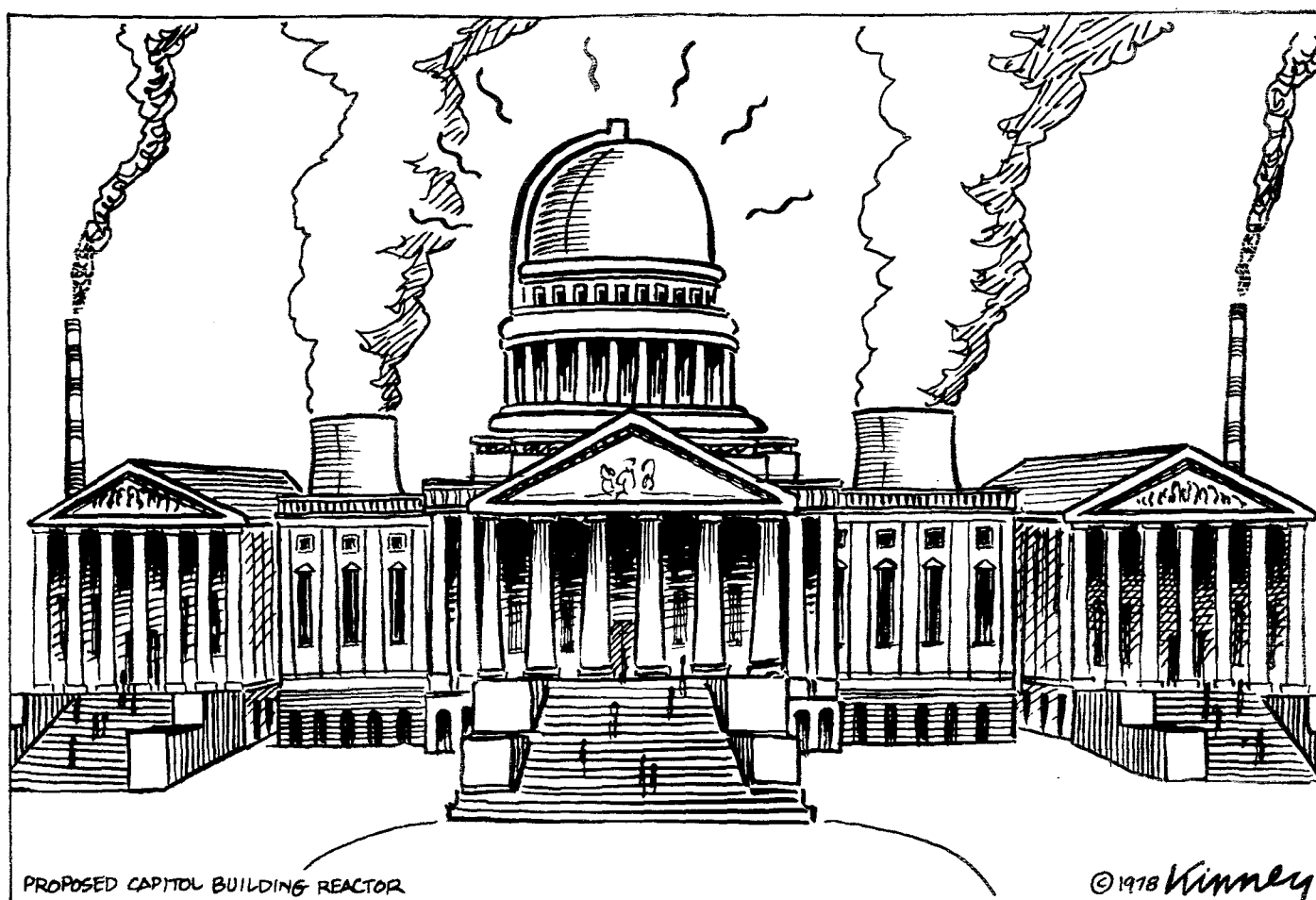
So there Carter was, stuck with \$80 million dollars he didn't want for a project he was trying to kill. He announced after signing the bill that he would use the money to finish the CRBR design and then terminate the project "in an orderly way."

To congressional ears this sounded suspiciously like Nixonian impoundment of funds, and in the post-Watergate spirit the legislature was not going to stand for it. Thus, on March 12, Elmer G. Staats, Comptroller General and head of the congressional watchdog General Accounting Office, sent Carter's Secretary of Energy, James Schlesinger, a sharply worded letter, warning him that termination of the project would be illegal, and his office would "disallow" any use of the appropriations for that purpose. Furthermore, Staats wrote, any official who certified such a disallowed expenditure would then become personally liable for return of the money to the Treasury.

CRBR supporters in the Senate kept the heat on during the Panama Canal treaties debate. The *New York Times* reported on March 19, after the decisive first vote on the pact, that Carter had agreed to visit Oak Ridge, the Detroit of the nuclear industry and but a few miles away from Clinch River, at the request of Tennessee Sen. Howard Baker—who perhaps not coincidentally led several key Republican votes into the pro-treaty column.

Comptroller Staats' letter also had its intended effect. Five days later Schlesinger disclosed that he was "having conversations with members of the House of Representatives" about "alternatives" to CRBR.

The alternatives he described, however, were not the type that would give a nuclear opponent much comfort. He was offering to replace the present Clinch River project, he explained, with an even bigger breeder reactor project, one that would produce between 600 and 1,000 megawatts of electricity. The new breeder, he said, would be more cost-efficient and less prone to sabotage and wouldn't contribute as much to proliferation.



A MODEST PROPOSAL:
LET'S MOVE THE CLINCH RIVER BREEDER REACTOR TO WASHINGTON D.C., WHERE CARTER, SCHLESINGER, & CONGRESS CAN DIRECTLY ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF THIS WONDERFUL SOURCE OF CLEAN ENERGY...

This new breeder would employ one of three types of fuel cycles: conventional plutonium, such as the original Clinch River reactor planned to use; a thorium-based cycle; or a new cycle called CIVIX.

The CIVIX process is being touted by the nuclear industry as one that minimizes sabotage risks, either by processing nuclear material in such a way that plutonium or weapons grade enriched uranium is more difficult to extract from it, or by adding to it nonfissionable "hot elements" that would make it too dangerous for amateur terrorists to handle. The thorium cycle would be safer because thorium is nonfissionable; you can't make bombs from it.

Asked how Schlesinger thought the first option, that of an even larger version of the original CRBR plutonium cycle, would reduce the system's risks, a Department of Energy spokesman later admitted to this reporter that "It's probably not all that much better, really."

Schlesinger's "conversations," chiefly with Alabama Rep. Walter Flowers, chairman of the House Energy subcommittee, culminated in late March in an "understanding" that involved the replacement of CRBR with the bigger complex.

It outraged anti-nuclear lobbyists. Richard Pollock of Nader-related Critical Mass project said that his organization was against all of Schlesinger's options: The thorium cycle does not use fissionable material, he said, but "still requires much the same infrastructure, equipment and skilled personnel, so we see it as still too much of a step into the nuclear state. The CIVIX cycle, despite the industry's claims, does make weapons grade nuclear material available at some point in the cycle, and as far as we're concerned it just gives the game away under a cloak of legality. And the plutonium cycle, of course, is just more of what they started out with."

Nine members of the House Science committee, of which Flowers' subcommittee is part, were so alarmed at the implications of the compromise that on April 7 they told Carter they were concerned that the "compromise moves us substantially ahead with the breeder program before a comparable program for developing alternative energy resources is in place."

Carter met with the group on April 10,

and reportedly reassured them that the compromise was only a commitment to a design study, not actual construction of a new facility—and that he was all for solar power, geothermal energy and conservation. He also promised that he would visit the Solar Energy Research Institute on Sun Day. After the meeting the Representatives said they felt better about the whole thing.

But if they did, the pro-nuclear majority of the House Science committee did not. The next morning the committee overwhelmingly rejected the compromise when Flowers presented it to them. Flowers said he wasn't giving up, and would fight for the proposal on the floor of the House.

Any relief anti-nuclear activists may have found in the committee vote was shortlived. The next morning columnist Jack Anderson disclosed that Energy Secretary Schlesinger had "drafted a secret executive order that would speed up nuclear plant construction and quicken the reviews now required." Anderson concluded that Schlesinger "appears determined to push nuclear energy upon the nation."

Nuclear opponents were already more than suspicious of Schlesinger. A former head of the Atomic Energy Commission, he is a strong backer of nuclear power, and has already sponsored a bill, H.R.11704, to speed up the nuclear licensing process. The CRBR compromise, the licensing bill and the report of the secret executive orders, all added up to too much. On April 24, Critical Mass' Pollock joined Ralph Nader and spokespeople from a dozen consumer and environmental groups at a press conference at

which Schlesinger—and his boss, Carter—were denounced.

"We have waited patiently and silently for most of this year," their statement declared. "We have waited for this administration to fulfill—or begin to fulfill their oft-repeated promises.... Instead we have watched in surprise and with growing discouragement as the President has abandoned one campaign commitment after another."

The criticisms of Schlesinger were intense: "Although the President makes bold, visionary statements about energy policy, his Energy Secretary, James R. Schlesinger, is backsliding every day to the worn-out, inadequate energy policies of the Republican administrations in which he served...." His department "is devoting its imagination, enthusiasm and commitment to nuclear power, to massive subsidies for development of synthetic fuels, and to efforts to block citizens from the energy decision-making process."

About the only consolation the administration could draw in the wake of this blast was that Nader's prestige is currently in a slump, and instead of being front-page news, the press conference was buried by the local papers; the *Washington Post* didn't even send its own reporter, using wire service copy instead.

But as the intensity of the maneuvers that produces the statements indicates, the chance of alternative energy sources against their frontrunning nuclear rival in this administration is very much in doubt. That's a fact, regardless of the bright smiles of Sun Day speechmaking. ■ **Chuck Fager is a free-lance reporter in Washington, D.C.**

Natural gas bonanza

Continued from page 3.

This is a piece of legislation that puts to rest a nagging legislative question about what this country is going to do about energy policy. It makes more sense in that perspective than any other. Heaven knows this is probably not the best natural gas pricing policy."

Heaven may know, but does Congress? Does the American public? Jimmy Carter is betting that Americans will cheer him on to victory in 1980 on the grounds that

he proposed and pushed through a National Energy Plan. But as they look at their gas bills they may think of him as the one-term president whose zeal to appease international capitalists and U.S. oil interests in a bizarre ploy to appear effective with Congress lost them thousands of dollars. At this point the weird coalition of right and left in the energy conference committee or a filibuster in the Senate may still save him from this fate and send the "mushroom" gas bill back to the dark where it was found. ■

LABOR

Hospital workers union expands its influence

PART TWO

By Dan Marshall

GARY, IND.

IN OCTOBER 1975, GINNY COHEN, Alice Bush and a small group of women hospital workers at St. Mary's Medical Center went shopping for a union. As an assistant in Pulmonary Services, Ginny Cohen was familiar with the callous, paternalistic attitude hospital administrators displayed towards her coworkers. Alice Bush, a licensed practical nurse, had only been at St. Mary's for several months, but she brought with her 12 years of experience in hospitals in Illinois and Indiana.

Living in a highly-industrialized area, dominated by big unions and even bigger companies like U.S. Steel, Cohen and Bush had a variety of labor organizations to choose from: the Steelworkers, Auto-workers, Electrical Workers, the State, County and Municipal Employees, and a few independents. One stood out as best suited to their needs: District 1199, the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

It was not the first time a union had tried to organize at St. Mary's and the legacy of an earlier attempt had to be confronted.

"We were pretty devastated," says Cohen, recalling the overwhelming defeat of an organizing drive conducted by HELP, the Hospital Employees Labor Program, a joint organizing project of Local 73 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and Local 743 of the Teamsters.

After a short, haphazard campaign, HELP lost two-to-one at St. Mary's, one of the largest hospitals in northern Indiana with 1,400 employees.

"By the end of the campaign," explains Cohen, "the gung-ho, hard-core union people were relieved that HELP lost. We were lied to during the drive. They didn't tell us that HELP is actually an organizing committee for two union locals and that we could end up in either the Teamsters or SEIU. They also said that we could decide on dues when the by-laws of both locals say that the executive committee decides on that."

"We knew what was needed from a union to organize and win," says Cohen. "The HELP drive allowed us to identify pro-union people and gave us a sense of what to look for in a union."

A chance to influence policy.

Why did they eventually choose 1199? They were vaguely familiar with its reputation as a militant, democratic industrial union that organized only health care workers. Instead of getting swallowed up in a huge union local that includes numerous jurisdictions, as did SEIU and the Teamsters, they would have a chance directly to influence union policy.

After looking over 1199 literature they were convinced that the union was "sincerely committed to organizing and was strong enough to win," explains Cohen. "I also felt that if I was disturbed with something going on in the union, I could call the president, Leon Davis, and get it corrected. He seems very accessible."

After deciding to go with 1199, Cohen, Bush and other in-house activists met with Leo Kormis, the union's Indiana organizer. HELP had been suspicious about anyone who asked to see copies of the unions' constitutions. Kormis, on the other hand, brought copies of 1199's constitution and the by-laws from a sample lo-

cal with him.

1199's campaign at St. Mary's was long and systematic. Organizers collected lists of employees in every department and assigned union partisans to discuss with them the benefits of unionization. Before passing out cards, they built an organizing committee of over 100 persons—one representative for every ten workers.

HELP filed for an election after collecting cards from only 35 percent of workers in bargaining units at one facility. 1199 spent a year obtaining cards from 80 percent of the service and maintenance employees at Gary and at the hospital's suburban facility.

In tactics reminiscent of the civil rights movement, 1199 openly confronted management. When the administration sent letters to all employees saying that they should "think carefully" about the implications of bringing in a union, 1199 organizers collected the letters, deposited them in a garbage bag, and dumped them on an administrator's desk.

In May 1977 organizers filed for representational elections at St. Mary's for two groups of workers: service and maintenance and LPNs and technical. Another demonstration was held, this time demanding that the hospital immediately recognize the union. The administration refused.

A month later 1199 won a sizeable victory in the service and maintenance unit, while losing by five votes out of 175 cast in the LPN and technical unit, thereby organizing the first hospital in northern Indiana. By the end of the year, service and maintenance employees had signed a two-year contract granting them a 35 cent per hour raise in the first year, disability pay for 13 weeks, and a modified union shop.

"A union really does make a difference," concludes Cohen. "You're not alone. Grievances get taken care of quickly and there's a different, more cooperative atmosphere among my coworkers."

The victory at St. Mary's is especially important because it is 1199's first foray into the Chicago-Gary area. (Keeping 1199 out was part of the reason for the formation of HELP in the mid-1960s.) It has allowed the union to launch campaigns at several other northern Indiana hospitals.

Origins in Charleston.

The national growth of 1199 began in an unlikely spot: Charleston, S.C., where 500 workers walked off their jobs at state and county hospitals in 1969 and requested the union's assistance. Although the state has no collective bargaining law for public employees, the union coordinated a highly-publicized, 113-day strike that ended in pay raises, a credit union with a method of deducting union dues from workers' paychecks, and a grievance procedure.

"The Charleston strike had enormous repercussions," says Moe Foner, 1199 executive secretary. "The textile interests assigned their top anti-labor lawyer to the hospitals because they feared that if the union broke through there, it would have effects all over. Since the strike was a national media event covered by television every night, hospital workers across the country followed it."

The momentum of the Charleston strike rapidly swept through Baltimore, Md., where the Johns Hopkins Medical Center agreed to a representational election for its 7,500 service employees. The union won by a two-to-one margin. Progress was also made in Philadelphia and other Pennsylvania cities. After the Pennsyl-



Although 1199 has encountered stiff resistance in its efforts to expand, it has made some impressive gains.

vania legislature passed a collective bargaining law for hospital workers, 1199 won more than 20 elections involving some 7,000 workers.

The national potential of 1199 was boosted further when Congress removed the exemption of voluntary hospitals from the National Labor Relations Act. The new law, enacted in 1974, unlocked the door to the organization of the nation's 1.5 million voluntary hospital workers.

But 1199 and other unions have encountered stiff resistance in passing through that door. The recession and high unemployment have made hospital workers hesitant to risk their jobs by participating in organizing campaigns. Jobs are also threatened by what 1199 charges is a policy of government and management to cut hospital expenses by reducing the number of workers in the health care field. As workers are reduced by attrition, 1199 and other unions lose membership.

At the union's last convention in November 1977, president Davis reported that the union had won elections covering 9,535 workers in the previous year, with outstanding gains in Pennsylvania, New York and Rhode Island. The union also lost elections involving some 8,000 workers, Davis told the delegates, primarily because of "managements' aggressive and frequently lawless activities in discouraging workers from organizing with sophisticated methods of psychological brainwashing in addition to the old system of intimidation, bribes and firings."

Because of 1199's militant tradition and progressive politics, management often uses red-baiting and big-city-baiting to combat the union. In southeastern Ohio, for example, the administrators of the 185-bed Martin's Ferry Hospital waged one of the most vicious campaigns the union has ever faced.

In September 1976 1199 filed election petitions for three bargaining units in Martin's Ferry. Through legal maneuvers, management delayed the election for four months. They used the time to defeat the union through fear, intimidation, lies, illegal tactics and red-baiting. After hiring anti-union "labor-management" consultants costing \$50,000, they fired the chief administrator and any supervisors who refused to go along with their hard-line tactics. Employees who showed interest in the union were subjected to two-hour harangues by supervisors.

Attempting to smear the union, the

Martin's Ferry management distributed copies of 30-year-old congressional testimony in which Leon Davis refused to answer questions about his political beliefs. They also enlisted local politicians and the police. One city councilman reportedly saw a photo of Davis on the police station bulletin board with the warning: "He is a card-carrying Communist. If the union wins the election, he will be here Monday to stir up trouble."

Though 70 percent of the service and maintenance employees originally signed cards, 1199 lost the election by three votes out of 215 cast. The union has appealed, but the case is buried in National Labor Relations Board procedures.

Shared opposition.

The techniques employed to fight 1199 are so systematic that union leaders suspect that hospitals share their experiences with one another. "Management is increasingly using a common approach to hospital organizing drives. Their tactics are vicious, brutal, illegal—there are no words to describe what they will do to stop a union," comments Bob Muelenkamp, 1199 organization director.

The union's organizing efforts have also been slowed by management manipulation of federal labor law to delay representational elections. "The single major factor determining the success or failure in our organizing campaigns is how much time employers can buy from the Labor Board in order to stall or stop elections. Seldom does a hospital attorney miss an opportunity to postpone Board hearings, ask for long extensions before filing briefs or appeal a unit or jurisdictional decision—all for the purpose of destroying a union's majority status," Muelenkamp told a congressional committee last year.

Between August 1974 and March 1976, 1199 filed 176 petitions for elections. They won 100, lost 52 and withdrew from 24. Of the 100 victories, 90 percent occurred when it took less than four months for the elections to be held. On the other hand, 75 percent of the cases that took over four months were lost or withdrawn.

These figures are especially disturbing because the organizing policy of 1199 is not to demand an election until 65 percent of the unit has signed cards. "That means that in every unit we filed a petition for, we represented a genuine majority

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IN THE WORLD

FRANCE

Post-vote debate stirs Communist, Socialist parties

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

ON APRIL 28, GEORGE MARCHEIS officially closed the "vast fraternal, democratic and responsible" debate within the French Communist party (PCF) following the left's defeat in the March parliamentary elections, and unsurprisingly pronounced the Socialist party (PS) leadership under Francois Mitterrand had already returned the compliment. The self-satisfaction of their leaders was clearly not shared by the rank and file of either party.

The PCF internal debate got wide attention by spilling over into the non-party press. *Le Monde* opened its voluminous columns for weeks to lengthy complaints from PCF members about their party's conduct of the campaign and its way of functioning, which the PCF press had refused to print. These criticisms were stigmatized by Marchais as "monologues" written by intellectuals "cut off from real life." Who indeed writes to *Le Monde*, or can hope to be printed there, without an academic title of some sort? The intellectuals hope, of course, that they are expressing sentiments shared by working class militants. But workers traditionally express their dissatisfaction with the party

by "voting with their feet"—that is, by dropping out.

Althusser's intrigue.

Philosopher Louis Althusser observed that the constant turnover of militants is one of the mechanisms that enables the PCF leadership to perpetuate itself through all its errors. Periodic recruitment campaigns bring in new generations of members unaware of the internal battles that caused previous generations to leave.

Althusser's four long articles were the last and harshest criticism of the PCF published by *Le Monde* before Marchais' report to the Central Committee pronounced the debate closed. The Communist philosopher's first article criticized the party leadership for having secretly, without consulting or informing the base, switched to a strategy of blocking PS gains that was bound to lead to defeat of the left. The second criticized details of the party's campaign line decided over the heads of the membership—such as sudden acceptance of the nuclear deterrent force and emphasis on "the poor" rather than on the working class—and went on to attack



Louis Althusser "The secret discussions and COMMUNIST PHILOSOPHER decisions have always taken place in a small group not mentioned in the statutes..."

the party's organization as a "domination machine...closely modeled on the bourgeois state apparatus and on the military apparatus."

The party is like a bourgeois parliamentary system, Althusser maintained, in being ostensibly governed by an elected body, the Central Committee, while the real power lies elsewhere. "In fact, the real secret discussions and decisions have always taken place...in a small group not mentioned in the statutes made up of the secretariat, part of the political bureau and a few 'experts' or aides of the Central Committee."

The party's military aspect lies in "the fundamental principle of *absolute vertical compartmentalization*, recalling the form of military hierarchy." This means, Althusser said, that "the militant at the base is unable, except at section and federation conferences, if he or she is sent as a delegate, to keep up any contact with the militants of any other cell, who belong to a different vertical column leading to the top. Any attempt to establish 'horizontal contact' is declared 'factional,' even today." Althusser said many militants are calling for complete change in the way the party "machine" works, "not only for themselves, for their freedom as militants...but for the mass of French workers, who cannot win in the class struggle without the PC, but who also cannot win with that Communist party *such as it is*."

"Total political impasse."

In his third article, Althusser tore into the "pathetic" state of Marxist theory in the French party. The PCF suffers both from "the old French labor tradition, which doesn't want anything to do with theory," and from Stalinism, which turned Marxist theory into state dogma and an "evolutionist positivism," and dialectical materialism into the "science of science." "The fact that Marxism is in crisis throughout the world leaves the leadership as cold as the worldwide reality of the economic crisis during the years of the Common Program," Althusser observed, adding that party leaders could console themselves that the PCF had its very own theory, called the S.M.C., the French version of the Soviet theory of state monopoly capitalism.

The fact that this theory is regarded with contempt by the Italian party, for instance, doesn't matter, said Althusser, since "it is *our* theory. And the proof is that it was fabricated on orders from *our* leadership, by *our* economic section... purged in advance, of course, of those who did not agree." This made-to-order

theory was meant to provide an economic rationale for political conclusions that had been reached beforehand.

By maintaining that economically, in a pre-socialist phase, French capitalism has merged with the state as "a single mechanism," dominated by a "handful of monopolists" and their stewards, the S.M.C. theory leads to the PCF's political conclusions that the state has taken a form that can be used as is for the transition to socialism, and that an end to the rule of monopolies is in the "objective" interest of all but a tiny minority of the French people.

This "objective" interest of the vast majority means that "class struggle" can be abandoned as the way to socialism in favor of "consciousness raising through propaganda." Althusser's point is that the S.M.C. theory was concocted to justify a practice that amounts to the abandonment of revolutionary practice in favor of public relations. The PCF has given up analyzing concrete social reality in France as a way of making fresh discoveries, Althusser charged. Rather, the PCF "conceives of concrete analysis as the *application* of theory," which is the Stalinist approach and leads to "total political impasse," he argued.

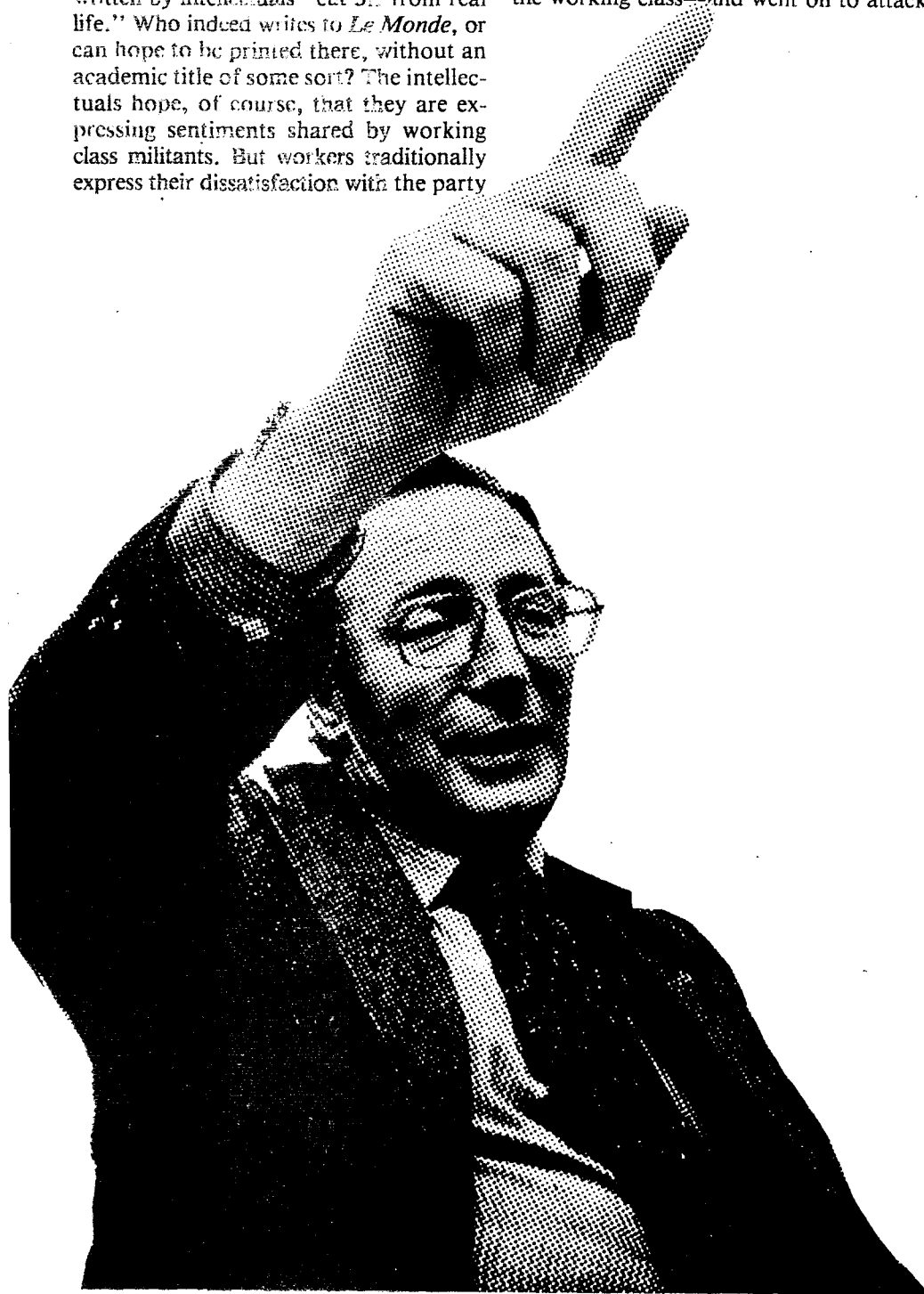
For example, Althusser asked why the PCF never made a concrete analysis of why it can't seem to get beyond about 20 percent of the vote. Where the PCF ran up against obstacles to its growth was not in the petit-bourgeoisie, as too readily assumed, Althusser said, but in the working class itself, which gave only 33 percent of its vote to the PCF, with 30 percent going to the PS, 20 percent to the right, and the rest in abstention or the traditional anarcho-syndicalist rejection of electoral politics. Althusser suggested that the party's undemocratic internal functioning explained its failure to win over the entire working class.

Mortal sin of factionalism.

In his final article, Althusser called on the party to "get out of its fortress" and into the masses, to be like "a fish in water" rather than a garrison in hostile territory. He called for a party that would drop "the bourgeois practice of using others to rule" in favor of stimulating initiatives of the working class to "liberate themselves."

Althusser, who was nearly alone in protesting when the 22nd party Congress in February 1976 disposed of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" without discussion, is the party's leading internal critic from a "left" or "revolutionary" point

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Jean Elleinstein "The true historic compromise COMMUNIST HISTORIAN in France depends on a real rapprochement between Socialists and Communists."

FRANCE

Spirited debate stirs Communists, Socialists

Continued from page 9.

of view. Many of his specific criticisms, notably of sudden policy switches imposed by the leadership on militants obliged overnight to learn to justify what they had been condemning, such as the nuclear strike force, were widely echoed throughout the party. But it is unlikely that many party members would go along with his radical critique of PCF theory, organization and strategy.

In any case, there is no way to find out, since those who think they might agree on a new approach cannot get together to hash it out without committing the mortal sin of "factionalism," which even Althusser hastened to condemn. It seems that the vast majority of PCF members, however unhappy they are over the election results, and however much they feel that their leaders have been less than totally sincere, agree that "democratic centralism," including the ban on factions (introduced into the Bolshevik party "temporarily" by Lenin in 1922), is necessary to be effective.

Rank-and-file members habitually deprive themselves of the means to work for desired changes within the party by accepting the existing structure, convinced, perhaps, that if such structural means existed, "others" would take advantage of them to tear apart the party. The leadership is good at silencing one internal opposition by brandishing the specter of another.

Marchais could correctly point out that the critics who blossomed in *Le Monde* throughout April were not in agreement among themselves. Getting together on a critical position is "factionalism," while not doing so means emitting individual "monologues." Among those monologues, the outlines of various potential minority factions could indeed be discerned.

Elleinstein on the fortress.

In contrast to Althusser's "revolutionary left" critique, PCF historian and unsuccessful Latin Quarter candidate Jean Elleinstein presented a "right-wing," "reformist" critique—more limited than Althusser's because basically in accord with the 22nd Congress. Elleinstein agreed with Althusser that de-Stalinization within the PCF needed to be carried further and that the party needed to stop behaving like a "besieged fortress." But whereas Althusser imagines a party that would be the revolutionary ferment of the working

class, Elleinstein is thinking of how to expand the party's influence within the intelligentsia and the middle classes.

The USSR is not a model but rather even an "anti-model," and "socialism as we mean it does not exist anywhere," Elleinstein wrote. "We know now that the revolution in our country can only be the result of a long process" involving major structural reforms enabling economic, social and cultural transformations from which socialism may emerge. This implies broad inter-class alliances able to hang together over the long haul. "The historic alliance of workers, employees, middle class salaried people and intellectuals, which should constitute the new ruling bloc...appears to have been badly neglected in this period," he complained. The party must drop its anti-intellectualism and make major changes in its policies and practices to win over middle class salaried people, engineers, technicians, junior executives and intellectuals.

"The true historic compromise in France depends on a real *rapprochement* between Socialists and Communists," Elleinstein argued. The PCF must overcome the distrust aroused by its Stalinist past. "We were right to criticize the PS at the time of the Nantes Congress and subsequently to denounce what Jean-Pierre Chevenement called... 'the Soares line,' but the way we did it was so brutal, so clumsy, that it played no slight role in the defeat of the entire left in March 1978," he argued.

Unlike Althusser, Elleinstein expresses views that have some chance of gaining ground within the PCF if, as is suspected, they are secretly shared by certain top party leaders, in particular Paul Laurent, responsible for the Paris region and considered the leading "Eurocommunist" liberal on the powerful seven-man secretariat. Democratic centralism and the ban on factions means that dissident views can progress in the party only insofar as they are championed by one leader or group of leaders in their in-fighting with each other.

Elleinstein's friendly nod to Chevenement's CERES left-wing minority of the PS, not habitual in the PCF despite the CERES' frequent agreements with PCF positions, marks a *rapprochement* at least between Communists and Socialists who have in common a commitment to the union of the left and an admiration for the Italian Communist party.

Elleinstein is currently negotiating with the editors of the moribund weekly *Politique Hebdo* about launching a new political weekly next September in collaboration with such Communist intellectuals as Christine Buci-Glucksmann, the CERES, and such varied intellectual stars of the left as Claude Bourdet, Alain Krivine, Francois Maspero, Regis Debray and Nicolas Poulantzas. Such a mixed bag, if it can be labelled, might be called the "alternative party" left in that all tend to think in terms of a party or parties that do not exist. The purpose will be mainly to provide the analysis and debate squelched in the parties and to try thereby to influence them, or so it seems.

Socialist rivalries.

In the Socialist party, rivalries between leaders are public knowledge, tending to co-opt and distort rank-and-file dissension, when it is not simply ignored. Thus,

Didier Motchane

LEFTWING SOCIALIST
& CRITIC OF MITTERRAND
"Socialists like Rocard who supported Mitterrand's line last year have no right to criticize him this year."



Michel Rocard "People must be given security RIVAL TO MITTERRAND to accept change."

since Michel Rocard's post-election criticism of the PS campaign immediately aroused suspicion that he was playing on dissatisfaction to advance his own ambitions within the PS, all the other Socialist barons rallied around Mitterrand to put down the upstart. Rank-and-file criticism, suspected of being a Rocardian ploy, was all the more easily smothered.

Didier Motchane, the number two of CERES, the PS's official minority, announced indignantly that Socialist leaders who, unlike the CERES, had supported the line laid down by Francois Mitterrand at the Nantes Congress last year had no right to come complaining about him now, and that the CERES would not stand for it. At the first PS convention since the defeat, held in Paris the last weekend in April, the CERES refrained from criticizing Mitterrand's leadership, apparently to avoid enhancing Rocard's position in any way.

Rocard himself made a speech in which he took giant steps in the rightward direction he has been heading for years, by stressing the need to give people enough sense of "security" to accept change. Security is permanent identity, he said, which in a market society is "largely based on one's income compared to others." Thus, to achieve socialism, inequalities must be preserved. Since Rocard has already expressed opposition to nationalizations, considering the ownership of the means of production secondary, it becomes harder and harder to see what sort of socialism he has in mind.

Of all Socialist leaders, Rocard is the most hostile to the PCF. In a recent radio interview, he dropped the opinion that the real truth about the PCF is that it is "useless." Socialist Pierre Joxe immediately castigated the remark as "childishly aggressive." Considered brilliant, ambi-

tious, and potentially most acceptable to international capitalism, Rocard is watched with deep misgivings by other left-wing politicians, who will surely try to trip him up every step of the way.

It is surely no coincidence, but rather the mark of skillful demagoguery, that on some points nothing sounds so much like Rocard as the post-election line of Marchais. Both are talking about political struggle "at the base," about "autogestion" (self-management), and the need to take up new issues, such as ecology and feminism. Both may be preparing for a struggle for influence among personnel in key sectors of the economy, where the intelligentsia is gaining on the proletariat in terms of numbers, while frequently being "proletarianized" in terms of responsibility and status.

The unusually large volume of audible criticism in the PCF in recent weeks has made it clear to everyone, first of all, that a great deal of free debate does go on among party members, and second, that the leadership is free to make of such debate what it will. Those who are discontented can leave. As in any other party. Indeed, it is also obvious that the PS is scarcely more democratic than the PCF, let alone the right-wing parties, where the leaders lay down the law without even having to worry about murmurings from below.

In a press conference on May 3, Marchais dismissed recent signs of opposition as "small marginal discussions of no interest to the party." The time had come now to turn to serious things, notably the "struggle at the bottom" to spread "democracy everywhere, at all levels of the enterprise, the neighborhood and on up to parliament." The task of the party now is obviously to democratize other institutions, not itself.



Report from Lebanon by John Judis

A MINI WORLD WAR

Lebanon used to be the intellectual and financial capital of the Mideast. Tourists flocked to its seaside resorts and to Beirut's fashionable Hamra district.

It was also a country where different religious and national groups lived side-by-side: Maronite and Greek Orthodox Christians, Sunni, Shi'ite and Druze Moslems, Jews and Palestinians. Before the war, when both Christian and Moslem Lebanese championed the Palestinian cause, they pointed to themselves as evidence that a democratic secular state could work in the Mideast.

But now Lebanese religious and national groups have become warring armies bent upon each other's destruction, and Beirut and much of southern Lebanon is a shambles.

The center of Beirut is bombed-out rubble. Weeds grow through the cracked walls of uninhabited seaside resorts. Refugees from the Israeli invasion of the south squat in abandoned buildings and in tent cities.

Beirut is no longer one city, but two, divided by the *Place des Martyrs*, across which the Phalangists and Lebanese National Movement lobbed rockets at each other. To get from one side to the other, it is necessary to change taxis at the *Place des Martyrs*; taxi drivers from each side are unwilling to journey to the other.

East Beirut, as well as northern Lebanon, is largely Christian territory, ruled by the Phalangist and National Liberal party militia. The Palestinian refugee camps that used to dot its perimeter were forcibly evacuated during the war.

West Beirut retains its mixture of Moslems, Christians, Lebanese and Palestinians. It includes cosmopolitan *Ras Beirut*, where the embassies and university remain, as well as the tumbledown shacks of the "belt of misery" and the Palestinian refugee camps. The PLO and the different Lebanese parties have their own militia anxiously guarding their buildings and the surrounding streets.

There are no Lebanese police and hardly any army. And without police or army, the Lebanese state cannot enforce its will over its feuding citizens. For all intents and purposes, there is no Lebanese state.

In Beirut, the largely Syrian Arab Deterrent Force limits the war to minor bombardments and occasional sniping. The Force is nominally under the Lebanese president's control, but it answers only to Syrian President Hafez Assad. These troops are stationed behind sandbags throughout West Beirut and at the border with the East.

In southern Lebanon, a 6,000-strong UN force stands between the Israelis and the Lebanese National Movement.

A recipe for war.

Talking to representatives from the different parties, one hears widely different accounts of the war's cause. The National Front of the Phalangists and National Liberals blame it on the Palestinians and, secondarily, the Soviets and the pan-Arab, pan-Islamic forces. The Lebanese National Movement blames it on Israel, the U.S., and the National Front, in roughly that order.

But the most compelling description I heard of Lebanon's problems came from a man caught in the middle, Calil Habib, who heads the Mid-



Tyre after Israeli shelling.

Lebanon has become a battleground for Christians and Moslems, for pan-Arabism, for Palestinians and Israelis, and for the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

dle East Council of Churches. Habib rejected explanations that looked solely at one side or the other. "What is going on is a mini-world war by proxy," he said.

According to Habib, Lebanon has become a battleground for Christians and Moslems, for pan-Arabism, for the Israelis and the Palestinians, and for the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Superimpose these conflicts upon a divided society with a weak state, glaring inequalities, and historic rivalries among national and religious groups, and you have a recipe for war.

You also have a situation that defies internal solution.

Moslem vs. Christian.

When the French carved Lebanon out of Greater Syria in 1926, Beirut served as a trade center between Europe and the Mideast. After the creation of Israel in 1948, it replaced Haifa as the major trading city for the Mideast. With the growth of oil revenues, Beirut and Lebanon boomed during the '60s.

But in the '70s, the world recession stalled Lebanon's growth. Beirut's suburbs became swelled by impoverished Moslem immigrants from the countryside, refugees from rural poverty and Israeli bombs. The differences in development between the largely Christian north and largely Moslem south became more pronounced.

This poverty and inequality fueled historic resentments between the Moslems and the Maronite Christians. The resentments centered on Lebanon's political system.

Since 1943, Lebanon has been governed by a "national covenant" that divided up power and

offices among the different religious groups according to a French-conducted 1932 census. The Maronite Christians got the most powerful government posts of president and army head and also enjoyed a six-to-five edge over the Moslems in parliamentary representation.

The Moslems charged that the Christians had used their political power to develop the roads, schools and electricity of the north, while letting the south deteriorate.

The Moslems demanded that the proportions be rearranged according to a new census, one that would show that the Moslems were now a majority. But the Christians refused to conduct a census. In 1958, this was to be an issue in the brief Moslem uprising. In the '70s, it again became an issue.

PLO base in Lebanon.

The other major issue was the Palestinians.

An estimated 200,000 Palestinians migrated to Lebanon in 1948, most of whom settled in UN-funded refugee camps. By the '70s, their numbers were estimated as high as 600,000, or one-sixth of Lebanon's estimated population.

Initially, all Lebanese politicians championed the Palestinian cause. Many Palestinian refugee camps in northern Lebanon were on land donated by Christian monasteries. But Israeli reprisals for PLO actions inside Israel took their toll on Christian support. On Dec. 31, 1968, the Israelis blew up 13 Lebanese airliners at the Beirut airport and began retaliatory bombing raids in the south.

The Lebanese army attempted to curb PLO commando operations in the south, which led to frequent armed clashes. The Arab states then stepped in and arranged a meeting in Cairo in November 1969 at which the Lebanese government and the PLO signed an agreement guaranteeing PLO freedom of movement and armed presence within Lebanon.

When King Hussein drove the PLO out of Jordan in late 1970, Lebanon now became the PLO's main base of operations, and Israeli raids increased.

The PLO, for its part, attempted to stay out of Lebanese politics and to present itself as an advocate of compromise and moderation. But, fearful of becoming isolated from the Lebanese populace, it also established ties with Lebanese workers and with the Lebanese National Movement. As a result, it found itself increasingly linked, in right-wing Christian eyes, with the Moslem and left-wing threat to their ascendancy.

Political polarization.

By 1975, Lebanon had become polarized between a largely Christian National Front, on the one hand, and the Lebanese National Movement, on the other. The differences between the two groups, though complex, tended to break down along lines of right vs. left.

The Front parties were pro-Western, pro-capitalism, and in favor of maintaining the political status quo. They denied that Lebanon was part of the "Arab world." "Lebanon is Arab only in the sense that it speaks better Arabic than the rest of the Arab world put together," former UN representative and Front leader Charles Malik told me.

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LEBANON

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The Phalangists, who got their name from Franco's Spain, were the larger, more mass-based party. The National Liberals were more clearly the party of the Lebanese Christian bourgeoisie.

By 1975, with no Mideast settlement in sight, the parties of the Front began to see the Palestinian link with the Lebanese left as a threat. They began to demand that the Palestinians be disarmed and, where possible, dispersed among the other Arab countries. Later in the war, when the tide was turning against them, they advocated partitioning Lebanon between a Christian north and a Moslem south.

The predominantly Moslem Lebanese National Movement (LNM) was formed in the early '70s as a coalition of left parties all committed to political reform and support of the Palestinians. LNM's largest parties were the social-democratic Progressive Socialists, a largely Druze party led by Kamal Jumblatt and now by his son, Walid, and the Independent Nasserist party, which took its ideology from Nasser's pan-Arab socialism. Two Marxist-Leninist organizations, the Communist Action Organization and the Communist party, play a role in the coalition.

In a 1975 program, the LNM called for the secularization of Lebanese politics. While the Moslem moderates had advocated retaining the system but changing the proportions, the LNM called for replacing it with one person/one vote. They also advocated electoral reforms that would eliminate the hereditary control by a few families over Lebanese legislative districts and permit the urban poor to participate in elections.

These modest political reforms threatened to turn Lebanese politics upside down.

Between the Front and the LNM stood the moderate Moslems and Christians. During the war, most went over to their respective religious grouping, which only increased the war's bitter-

ness. The Maronites, in particular, were as fearful of the pan-Islamic tendencies of the Saudi-backed moderate Moslems as they were of the LNM's democratic radicalism.

Syrian Intervention.

Chroniclers of the war, which began on April 13, 1975, divide it into different phases. The first pitted the PLO and the LNM against the Front. By mid-1976, the PLO and the LNM had driven the Front into northern Lebanon. At this point, the Syrians intervened against their former allies, the PLO and the LNM, and helped the Front drive them into the south.

But in fall 1976, the Syrians turned on their erstwhile Christian allies and stopped their march southward. The Syrians effectively created a stalemate, and at Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in October 1976, the Arab states endorsed a Syrian plan to establish a deterrent force and maintain the peace.

Syria's role in the war was dictated by its national interests and by changing alliances within the Mideast. While Syria wanted to prevent a Christian victory over the PLO, which would have weakened its bargaining power with Israel, it also feared a PLO/LNM victory, because that would have created a politically explosive neighbor and might also have invited an Israeli invasion on behalf of the Christians. The *New York Times'* Ihasan Hijazi said that the Syrian intervention was part of a deal with the U.S. in which the U.S. would pressure the Israelis to yield on the Golan Heights in exchange for Syrian action against the PLO.

CIA role.

But Syria was merely the most visible foreign influence on the Lebanese war. Israel also played a complicated game during the war. In its early stages, its gunboats unaccountably permitted arms shipments to the PLO through the Lebanese port of Tyre, while it furnished arms to the Christian Front. After Syria's invasion, it suddenly began to block PLO arms shipments.

Lebanese politicians of all stripes suspect Is-

raeli motives, believing that they wanted to create a Lebanese civil war because it would weaken the PLO and would prove the impossibility of a democratic secular state. "Lebanon was the example of a future Palestine, and Israel had to do something to destroy it," Gaby Habib said.

The U.S. has also been active in the war. Its strategy in the Mideast has been to create a bloc of pro-Western states, including Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia. It sees the PLO as a threat to this plan. In Lebanon, it therefore played a deceptive game. While the U.S. ambassador advocated compromise and negotiation, the Israeli section of the CIA is supposed to have funneled up to \$50 million in aid to the Christian front during the war's beginning.

Both the U.S. and USSR, which backed the LNM and PLO, attempted to pressure other countries within the area to aid their respective favorites in the struggle. The U.S., as noted, probably had some responsibility for Syria's intervention, as well as for the later Saudi role in backing the Syrians, while the Soviets, shut out of Egypt and betrayed by Syria, had their interests represented by the Iraqis and Libyans.

Israeli invasion.

By the time of the Israeli invasion last March, the war was already threatening to enter a new phase. Thrown back into the PLO's arms by Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, the Syrians began to appear partial to the left in their Lebanese peace-keeping operations. Twice in early 1978, they clashed with Front troops over what they charged was the Front's attempt to transfer Lebanese government weapons into their arsenals.

While the Israeli invasion in March was an immediate response to a PLO commando operation in Tel Aviv that resulted in 37 Israelis killed and 82 wounded, it had been previously threatened and was widely anticipated in Lebanon. Lebanese leftists speculated that the Israelis had two different motives: a military motive in weakening the PLO in southern Lebanon, but a more important political motive in reshuffling the Leb-

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A LIBERAL OR A FASCIST PARTY?

Lebanese leftists describe the National Liberal party and the Phalangists as "fascists." Suspicious of such labels, I went with several other journalists to talk to NLP leader Dory Chamoun.

I didn't learn that he was, strictly speaking, a fascist, but I learned why he and his allies were called fascists.

The NLP party headquarters are in a heavily guarded East Beirut highrise. In contrast with West Beirut militias, the soldiers carry American M-16s rather than Soviet Kalishnikovs.

The NLP are sometimes described simply as "Chamounists," because the party was founded by the venerable Lebanese leader Camille Chamoun (as the Lebanese president in 1958, Chamoun called in the U.S. Marines to squelch an alleged Nasserite plot against his rule), and it is now run by Chamoun and his two sons, Dory and Dany.

Dany is the military leader, and Dory is the political leader. Dany looks like a Sunbelt American: he is big and burly with curly red hair. He was wearing levis, cowboy boots, and a powder blue polo shirt with the sleeves rolled up to show his biceps. After chatting briefly with us, he roared off in his Ford Land-Rover.

Dory is more the elegant European type, with a pinstriped suit, tie, carefully coiffured dark brown hair. He could easily pass as a French or Italian parliamentarian.

He received us in a sumptuous office looking out over Beirut. Like his brother, he seemed eager to speak with Americans. (Everyone we met there was either just back from or on the way to the U.S.)

When I asked Chamoun what he thought the cause of the Lebanese civil war was, he stopped me in my tracks. "It is not a civil war," he said. "It is a war between the Lebanese and Palestinians." The war took place, he explained, because the Palestinians "decided to overturn the system in Lebanon and take control." He added that the whole move was "master-planned by the Russian embassy."

Chamoun accused the Palestinians of initiating the civil war by staging provocative confessional killings that were intended to "throw the Moslems into the lap of the socialists."

Chamoun denied, when asked, that Lebanon had any "internal problems" of its own, even in the underdeveloped south. "If the people don't want to work in the south, you can't blame the government," he said.

Chamoun said that he would have been willing to back a secular system in Lebanon, but that the war had shown that the Christians and Moslems would have to "sleep in separate beds." He now favored a confederal system of a Christian north and Moslem south.

We asked where the Palestinians would fit. "They don't fit in that state," he said. "They're misfits."

Chamoun said that he advocated sending what he called the "fairweather Palestinians" back to their "little Arab brothers." These were Palestinians who, according to Chamoun, came to Lebanon from Syria or Jordan because of the weather. As for what he estimated as the 200,000 Palestinians who had come to Lebanon from

Palestine, he would tell them, "You can stay until there is a solution, but no mucking around."

When one of us questioned whether their "little Arab brothers," and in particular Jordan's King Hussein, would accept a new influx of Palestinians, Chamoun got irritated. Referring to Hussein, he said, "Let him take them and kill them. It's not my responsibility."

Chamoun suspected that the Palestinians could solve all their problems if they used the money they got for arms differently. He recommended that they move to Lybia and undertake a joint development project with the Lybians.

"In Lybia," Chamoun said, "they could give their people decent conditions of living and make them into decent citizens. If they got a state, they wouldn't populate it with rabble."

We asked Chamoun about the relations between Israel and the Front. "When two people need each other, it doesn't take them long to find each other," he said. They had a "common interest" with the Israelis, he said. It was "to knock the Palestinians on the head." He acknowledged that the Israelis now "wanted Lebanon to be split."

When I asked him whether he considered himself an Arab, he replied, "I am just as much an Arab as you are an Englishman. Just because you speak English, you are not an Englishman."

He rejects the charge that he and his Phalangist allies are "fascists." "We are basically a liberal party," he said. "We believe in a liberal economy and a liberal democracy. We are Western in our thinking."



Above: A Palestinian guards the edge of a refugee camp on the outskirts of Beirut.

Left: Walid Jumblatt, who assumed leadership of the Lebanese National Movement after his father's assassination, sits on the terrace of his ancestral home in the Lebanese mountains.

Right: Two French UN soldiers man a barricade in Southern Lebanon just below Tyre.

Photos by John Judis

IN THESE TIMES



Defending Israel and Palestine

From its inception, **IN THESE TIMES** has been guided by basic principles respecting the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We believe that:

- Palestine is the homeland of both Israelis and Palestinian Arabs.

- The right of each to self-determination in the form of recognized statehood is beyond question.

- Peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation between the state of Israel and a Palestinian Arab state (in the areas of the West Bank and Gaza) are desirable and possible. The long-term security and progress of both peoples require coexistence and cooperation.

- The Israeli government should recognize the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people and their national aspirations; the PLO should recognize Israel as a legitimate state in Palestine and in the family of nations. On the basis of such mutual recognition Israel and the PLO should engage in direct negotiations as part of the process leading to the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state.

- Both states should have secure and recognized boundaries, assured, if necessary, by international guarantees.

- The state of Israel and the Palestinian Arab state should cooperate in seeking the establishment of a refugee relief and resettlement fund under international auspices (preferably the UN) to facilitate the early development of the Palestinian Arab state, resettle Palestinian refugees, and aid Israel and Arab states to meet the just reparations claims of displaced Palestinian Arabs and displaced Jews.

- American socialists should not take the side of one nation against the other, but should support recognition of both Israeli and Palestinian Arab nationhood and promote understanding and cooperation between the two states sharing Palestine. We should support or oppose acts and policies of other nations (including the U.S.) accordingly.

These principles are far from exhaustive; others might be mentioned. But they convey our **general approach** to the Israeli-Arab conflict. Our news gathering efforts.

These principles appear to be

idealistic and utopian, but as Sadat's journey to Jerusalem and recent expressions of opinion by Peace Now forces in Israel and by PLO head Yasir Arafat indicate, more and more Israelis, Palestinians, and other Arab leaders are moving toward just such "idealism and utopianism" as the only realistic alternative to mutual strife and destruction.

Israel's most reliable friends must be its Arab neighbors. Many Israelis recognize this necessity, but also that the current opportunity may be lost.

We wish to contribute what we can to movement in that direction. To help overcome national hatreds that hinder working peoples' international cooperation and domestic advance, is to strengthen socialist aspirations.

We try to come to terms with the tragic circumstances underlying the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Having been abused, displaced, incarcerated, and killed at the hands of peoples and governments of Christian Europe, the Israelis in founding and securing their state have abused, displaced, incarcerated and killed Palestinian Arabs who did them no such harm. That the Palestinians have fought back is no less honorable than that Jews fought back in Europe. The European nations, and the U.S., with their power and wealth, have not done nearly enough to help the two peoples live in harmony—indeed, they have all too often engaged in imperial manipulations exacerbating the conflict.

Recognizing the tragic qualities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, however, does not mean abandoning critical judgment.

The Palestinian national movement must come to terms with and accept the reality of an independent state of Israel and of sharing Palestine with it. The PLO covenant's denial of Israel's nationhood is wrong in principle, and also self-defeating.

But the PLO has moved away from that position. In 1974 it declared its readiness to assume statehood in areas of Arab Palestine recovered from Israeli occupation. And on May 1, Arafat declared publicly that the PLO was ready to accept peaceful coexistence between a Palestinian state and Israel, backed by international guarantees. The present Israeli government

refuses to enter negotiations on this basis with the PLO or with any other Palestinians.

In the meantime, in the absence of mutual recognition there is a state of war between Israel and the Palestinians. As the political, and armed, organization representing the Palestinian national struggle, the PLO cannot be regarded as "terrorists," but as a legitimate national movement pursuing a just cause.

Israel's legitimate concern for its security, no less its survival, is also a just cause. But appeal to security, or to Biblical or ideological claims to a "Greater Israel," as reason for occupying Arab lands both within and outside of Palestine, is not a just cause. That policy commanded credibility (if not justice) as long as the Arab world was united in refusing to recognize Israel and live with it in peace as a neighbor. But the Arab nations have moved decisively from that position.

Non-Israelis, including Americans, who uncritically support the Begin government policies are false friends of Israel, whatever their good intentions. Begin's government, as the Premier made clear during his recent trip to the U.S., adamantly refuses to recognize the PLO or any form of Palestinian statehood. It has unilaterally redefined UN Resolution 242 to mean that Israel can maintain its occupation of, and send settlements into, the West Bank and Gaza. (When in op-

position, Begin voted against Israeli government acceptance of 242 because he knew it to be incompatible with such policy.)

Begin's policy inevitably means a determination to keep Palestinian Arabs under Israeli colonial rule. That must mean continued Palestinian armed struggle against Israel and, short of displacement, suppression or mass murder on a scale comparable to that suffered by the Jews, no peace in the Middle East.

To support the Begin government in such policies is to urge Israel to continue on a disastrous course—one of gross injustice to the Palestinian people. It risks back into belligerency when Israel is becoming increasingly vulnerable to wars of attrition, and when Israel's relative military superiority is disappearing.

Begin's course points Israel toward a ruinous economy and a garrison state destructive of its democratic institutions and of its aspirations to build a rich and thriving Jewish national culture. It risks Israel's isolation from many of its allies and the squandering of support among the American people. Are not all these tendencies already evident?

The U.S. government can not be expected to remain a reliable friend of Israel if, as is already becoming the case, it must choose between forsaking aid to Israel and the prospect of an oil and dollar crisis. In pressing Israel to recognize Palestinian national rights, we think President Carter deserves support. But in encouraging Israel to refuse to recognize a Palestinian state, and maneuvering in Lebanon to strap the PLO, he should be opposed.

In the last analysis, Israel's most reliable friends must be its Arab neighbors. Many Israelis—in the Labor party, the DMC, in the Begin government itself—recognize these realities and also the danger of losing the opportunity now at hand. The best service to both Israel and the Palestinians is to encourage and support these opposition forces until they achieve a new policy.

To be a true friend of Israel is to be a friend of Palestinian statehood. It is not possible to be a friend of one and an enemy of the other.

Letters

Silent too long

I APPLAUD *ITT*'S DECISION TO run the interview with my mother (Apr. 19), especially because it comes when "scholars" are busy telling us what the survivors of the Holocaust think and feel, politicians claim to be acting in their name, but the survivors themselves are rarely heard.

When they do finally speak up, some "experts" spare no efforts to intimidate them back into silence. Heien Fein (*ITT*, May 3) is typical. She would have us believe that the survivors couldn't (and still can't) comprehend those terrible times on anything but a simplistic, primitive, experiential level. Their recollections and opinions constitute only the "raw material" that will then be assimilated by "scholars" who alone are competent to draw the grand, subtle, (always) complex conclusions.

For the record, my mother reads six languages, including Latin, and, when the war broke out, was a student at Warsaw University. Fein boasts that her conclusions are based on five years of research. My mother's are founded on first-hand experience, literally thousands of conversations with other survivors and 30 years of reflection on the relevant English, Polish and German sources. For this reason, I made no effort to "corroborate" her "assertions" (which, by the way, are badly described by Fein as "based on recollections of hearsay (sic!) testimony"). For the rest, my mother and I are confident that her judgments will be confirmed in the course of the debate that her interview initiates.

I think it is also important to say something about Israel. Fein faults us with not appreciating the complexities of the situation. That argument, of course, has a familiar ring to it. The "best and the brightest" were saying the same thing not too long ago: it isn't a case of black and white, we were repeatedly told.

We too are painfully aware of the world's complexities. But that should not, and *must not*, prevent us from speaking out against what are easily recognizable wrongs. The denial of Palestinian national rights, the terroristic attacks in southern Lebanon, which left many Palestinians and Lebanese dead and tens of thousands homeless, etc., are not only wrong but criminal. They are crimes not only against the Arab peoples but also against the Jewish people and progressive Jewish tradition. Worst is to excuse them in the name of our dead, of those that survived, and the children of the survivors. We refuse to be a party to the madness, or to be silent. We have been silent too long.

—Norman G. Finkelstein
Brooklyn, NY

Socialist Zionist slighted

I GREATLY APPRECIATED THE letters (*ITT*, May 3) pointing to the outrageous distortions about the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt in the Musyt interview.

Musyt spends much time and space demonstrating that the rightwing Zionists of Betar were not in the Jewish Fighting Organization, and that they were seen as sympathetic to fascist ideology, and finally that they are from the same political movement as Menachem Begin. She only manages to say in passing that the commander of the Revolt was Mordechai Anielewicz who happened also to be for a Jewish state.

Let it be clear: Mordechai Anielewicz, commander of the Jewish Fighting Organization and the first major civilian revolt against the Nazis, was a *Socialist*

Zionist. He was a leading member of Hashomer Hatzair, a socialist Zionist organization and supported the national self-determination of the Jewish people in Palestine. Zionism was, for him, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. Hashomer Hatzair has also always looked for a solution to the Zionist-Palestinian conflict that would be based on recognition of the mutual rights of both peoples. It was as a Jew, as a socialist and as a Zionist that he fought in Warsaw. Unfortunately, thanks to the UN General Assembly and some on the left, it seems that since he was a Zionist, the commander of the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt should also be classified as a racist.

—Mitchell Cohen
Editor, *Response*:
A Contemporary Jewish Review

[Editor's note: The text of the interview read: "The real history of the Ghetto has not been erased but rather distorted..."

"For example, little is said about Mordechai Anielewicz. And not surprisingly so, because Anielewicz's dream and the dream of the young people who fought so bravely and heroically was of a Jewish state that would, after the war, set an example for a new humanity which had a new concept of dignity. I am sure that Anielewicz would never have agreed to harm the Arabs."

The interview was also accompanied by a picture of Anielewicz, who was identified as "commander of the uprising."

A struggle whose time has come

THE EFFORT TO UNIONIZE THE hourly rate employees at fast food restaurants like McDonald's in the Chicago area (*ITT*, Apr. 19) is a struggle whose time has come. In 1975, as a Labor Standards Investigator for the New York State Department of Labor, I uncovered many labor law violations at Burger Kings in the Bronx. The exploitive policies and injustices by the management constituted aggrandizement of authority that I had rarely seen. Violations I uncovered were 1) failure to reimburse employees for cleaning their own uniforms (uniform allowance), 2) the outlay of money by the women to purchase specifically required white duty shoes without reimbursement by the management, and 3) numerous child labor law infringements concerning late hours, hours posted and working permits.

Thanks to persistence I was able to obtain from the management back pay for each employee entitled to it under the above labor law provisions. But without a union and a union contract the employees were still being paid the \$2.10 an hour mandated minimum wage. In addition, I witnessed several indiscriminate firings. There was no health plan and employees on their lunch hour had to clock-out and get on line with the public to purchase a meal at the full price.

—Philip Rogoff
New York



Judis' report on NDC seen as cranky

John Judis' account of the New Democratic Coalition Conference (*ITT*, Apr. 12) contains a good deal of faulty assessment. The delegates' enthusiasm over the programmatic discussions, the exchanges in workshops and general satisfaction with the sessions is missing. During the course of the weekend I

talked with more than half the 250 registrants (not Judis' 140) and to them these were the major aspects of the meeting. Despite scarcity of funds and staff, delegates came to Washington from all parts of the country representing tens of thousands of NDC members involved in the political arena. There were differing points of view on the question of when to consider the question of a progressive candidacy against Carter in 1980, but agreement on most questions of program and organization.

Judis also sought to personalize an organizational event. His article is marked by numerous inaccuracies that could have been avoided by minimal checking, along with a negative tone and considerable nitpicking. For example, he writes that this was NDC's first national conference since 1972. NDC held its prior conferences in Washington in 1975. Our 1976 platform, to which Judis alludes, stems from that conference. Moreover, in writing of NDC membership figures, his report is unclear and contradictory.

After discussing the content of the major talk delivered by Marcus Raskin, who chairs NDC's 50-person Advisory Council, and noting that "there was considerable support for the anti-corporate, anti-expansionist views," Judis writes that "only the leadership's organizational proposals 'muddled' through." These proposals were approved with little dissent. Why "muddled" through? In this connection, he also distorts a proposal I made on national dues.

Although alluding to the support of NDC leaders for our programmatic approach, Judis writes of the "Raskin program" rather than the NDC program. He fails to quote any of the delegates' supportive comments on the program but seems adept at collecting and recording critical comments. Omitted is mention of the following motion, passed with little or no dissent:

"This Conference hereby supports the thrust of the proposed preamble (a draft circulated prior to the conference) as basic directions for NDC: (1) The creation of a new economic system; (2) the creation of a non-expansionist, non-interventionist foreign policy and asks that these concepts be refined, concretized and clarified in on-going discussions."

NDC co-chair, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) was scheduled to make the keynote talk but was prevented from attending by his father's critical illness. Dellums' message to the conference, read by vice-chair Bob Brauer, went unnoticed by Judis. Apparently present during the entire two-day meeting, Judis did not speak with co-chairs Billie Carr of Texas or Bernard Sorokin of Connecticut, myself, or other NDC officers, all of whom were visible and accessible. Nor was there any report of significant talks made by several NDC officers. He even ascribes proposals made by me in a report on organization to Raskin. New York NDC leader Fran Bennick, running for Congress in Queens on NDC program in a campaign initiated some time before the conference is described as willing to run on the "Raskin program."

Judis credits Phil Brenner for assistance in writing his report, identifying Brenner as co-author of NDC's 1976 platform. This identification is faulty. The actual writing of the 1976 program was done by Raskin but it came after many meetings and discussions in which NDC leaders from all parts of the country participated, as did a number of persons connected with the Institute for Policy Studies, of which Brenner was one. Dozens of communications were received by the NDC Issues Committee offering suggestions for the program from NDCers who were unable to attend the discussion meetings. To identify one individual from among all those who participated in a long period of platform consideration as the program's co-author is peculiar indeed. NDC's 1976 platform starts with the following quote from our 1972 platform:

"The platform of the New Democratic Coalition is based on one simple

thesis: The institutions in this country are so structured that some people have too much money and power; most have too little. Therefore, in essence, we offer only one platform recommendation—that the power imbalances between people and groups be eliminated. The fight against the concentration of power and privilege—open and covert—legal and illegal, is the most important political question of our time. Our goal is a more equitable distribution of wealth and power. This fight for fairness is political..."

Raskin's presentation at the Conference was consistent with the development of our NDC program during its short ten-year existence.

Judis also ignored a series of action proposals stemming from the workshops, several of which were emphasized in a talk by NDC vice-chair, Rep. John Conyers (D-MI). These included opposition to S.1437/H.R.6869 (Criminal Code Reform Act of 1978), support of HJR 368 to extend time for consideration of ERA and the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill, all and more approved by the conference.

Numerous letters have already been received at NDC's national office expressing enthusiasm about the conference. At report-back meetings they are writing of plans adopted to build NDC membership in their areas.

Perhaps Judis should have accompanied New York delegates on their return bus or been with the delegates planning back to California. Hearing their evaluations might have provided him with a more realistic and positive assessment.

We feel that a major aspect of the NDC conference was its demonstration of a substantial potential for contributions to further progress toward an equitable society.

—Roy A. Leib
Executive Director,
New Democratic Coalition

John Judis replies:

I appreciate Leib's attempt to correct my story. I wish NDC only the best. Such organizations are essential to building an effective American left. But many of his statements conflict with my information.

Undoubtedly 250 persons attended NDC's meeting, but the count of state-by-state delegates at the registration desk on Sunday morning was 140. In addition, the membership figures that I received, from Leib and others, were unclear and contradictory. For instance, Leib gave me one figure for the membership of California's CDC; some CDC members gave me another. My remark that membership in such state organizations didn't necessarily entail conscious adherence to national NDC was confirmed by several delegates.

I said that the organizational proposals "muddled through" because I observed the muddling. The leadership had wanted to make NDC a dues-paying organization. In the face of delegate protest this was modified so that only individuals who joined NDC, not members of state or local organizations, would have to pay dues.

I did not mention support for the radical preamble because I ascertained that there was not, as might have appeared from its easy passage, unanimous support for the "creation of a new economic system" among the delegates. Because it entailed no actions, the preamble, like many such declarations, was seen as innocuous by some (e.g., Texas Democrats) who might otherwise have fought it.

Perhaps the most puzzling of Leib's criticisms is that I did not talk with him or other NDC leaders who were "visible and accessible" at the conference. I interviewed most of NDC's leadership, including Leib himself, with whom I discussed NDC's membership and organizational coherence.

I accept Leib's criticism that I overly personified in Marc Raskin's name the leadership's proposals, and did not give sufficient acknowledgement to the role of others, including Leib himself. My apologies for this.

On Sunday, May 7, William W. Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, gave the keynote address at the 1978 Norman Thomas-Eugene V. Debs annual awards dinner in Chicago. The dinner is sponsored by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. The following is an excerpted version of Winpisinger's address.

If Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas were with us tonight I'm not sure they would envy me. I've been invited to provide a trade union perspective on the economic policies of the Carter administration. That's like asking for a discussion of the wit and wisdom of Calvin Coolidge.

In Coolidge's case it could be summed up in the story of the lady who once drew "Silent Cal" as her partner at a White House dinner.

Trying to make the best of the situation she leaned toward him and said, "I just made a bet that I could get you to say at least three words."

Coolidge responded, "You lose."

That sums up the plight of millions of American working men and women who voted for Jimmy Carter in 1976.

"You lose."

The working people have lost because the administration considers inflation more serious than unemployment, and places the major blame for inflation on wages.

Working people and everyone else lost when the Carter administration caved in to oil and gas lobby blackmail and meekly agreed to deregulation of natural gas.

In effect, Carter has told the working people, "you lose" on employment, "you lose" on inflation, "you lose" on energy.

I look at these issues as a unionist fed up with the idea that the trade union movement has to prove its respectability by accepting and endorsing the economic ground rules of big business. I look at these issues as I think Gene Debs and Norman Thomas would have.

And I'm going to challenge the "accepted truth" that in the prevailing political mood of the country, the right is resurgent and the left is lagging.

Inflation.

In a nation where the richest 19 percent owns 70 percent of all the wealth and receives 41 percent of all the income, it is absurd to pretend that inflation can be cured by punishing the unemployed and jaw-boning the employed.

Such a poor excuse for an economic policy could be justified only if working people were receiving a disproportionate slice of the pie. They are not.

Wages are not the source of inflation. For example, in practically every part of this nation homes that cost \$20,000 to \$30,000 not too many years ago are now selling for two or three times that much. Yet the percentage of the total purchase price of a new house represented by on-site labor has actually declined from 33 percent to 17 percent over the last 20 years.

If the wages of carpenters, painters, electricians, plumbers and the like were cut in half, the price of new homes would fall less than 10 percent.

The only economic policy that will bring down the price of housing is one that will stimulate more home construction. And the way to stimulate more home construction is to bring down interest rates through a national public lending agency.

An economic policy that increased the supply of housing would not only reduce the ridiculous inflation in the price of housing, but would reduce as well the tragic waste of manpower and skills in the construction industry.

Health care.

In devising a more coherent as well as a more humane economic policy I suggest Carter take a more critical look at the horse-and-buggy system by which health care is still delivered in this country.

This has been one of the most inflationary of all the factors in the high cost of living. Nationwide the average—and I emphasize the word *average*—cost of a day in the hospital is now \$184—and still climbing.

One of the biggest mistakes the labor movement ever made was to accept Medicare and Medicaid without demanding strict cost controls. Because without con-

AFTER THE ROAST CHICKEN

IAM's Winpisinger blasts Carter at E.V. Debs dinner



Syd Harris

I'm fed up with the idea that unions have to prove their respectability by accepting big business' ground rules.

trols, doctors, hospitals and insurance companies have been ripping off the American people at a merciless rate.

We'll never get a handle on the cost of health care until we get a national health security system that puts pre-determined budgetary limits on the providers of medical and hospital care.

That's been one of the keystones of democratic socialism since the days of Debs and Thomas. And it's time the U.S. caught up with the rest of the industrialized democracies of the world.

Administered prices.

If the aim of the Carter administration's economic policy is to cut inflation, I suggest he order an in-depth economic environmental study of administered prices.

This is supposed to be a free enterprise economy, one in which prices are determined by competition, supply and demand and the law of the marketplace.

In fact, practically every significant American industry is dominated by two or three or, at the most, four major companies.

This is as true for breakfast cereals as it is for automobiles, for light bulbs as

for aluminum, for tires as for tin cans. And concentration of industrial control is getting tighter every year.

In 1948 the nation's 200 largest corporations controlled a little less than 50 percent of all manufacturing. Today they control close to 70 percent.

Competition is now confined to such areas as advertising and packaging. As far as prices are concerned, the only difference between the Soviet Union and the U.S. is that in Russia prices are set by a handful of commissars, while here they are set by a handful of corporate executives.

It's not mere coincidence that when U.S. Steel raises prices every other steel company advances by exactly the same amount.

In the auto industry, too, the law of the marketplace was repealed years ago. They raise prices to increase profits when demand is up and they raise them to protect that same level of profit when demand is down.

Quite obviously the unholy combination of inflation and unemployment known as "stagflation" has been caused by a number of factors other than wages.

But the single most important cause is

the federal government's failure to come to grips with the fourfold increase in energy prices that followed the oil embargo of 1973.

That is the most crucial problem facing the American people today, and yet, more than four years later, no real effort has been made to break the power of the oil cartel that holds our economy hostage. In fact, that cartel is more powerful than ever.

Last October Carter warned that deregulation of natural gas would raise the price 15 times over what it was in the fall of 1973. Today Carter says he'll accept deregulation as the price of getting some kind of energy bill on his desk.

The so-called "compromise" on the energy bill will put another \$40 billion into the already bulging pockets of the oil industry over the next few years, and cost the average American family another \$800 to \$1,000 a year, escalating progressively over the next several years.

The newspapers that condemned the recent settlement in the coal industry as inflationary have been strangely silent about this massive ripoff by the oil monopoly.

So silent, in fact, that the great majority of the American people don't even know what's happening to them in the highly secret sessions of the Joint House-Senate Energy Conference committee. These sessions have been closed to everyone except oil company lobbyists who have been sent in to help write the bill.

Alternative energy sources.

Apparently the Carter administration can't—or won't—come up with an economic policy to take on the oil monopoly. Therefore we, the people, are going to have to begin mobilizing broadly-based grass-roots support: support for members of Congress who are fighting to protect consumers and for legislation mandating both horizontal and vertical divestiture within the oil industry.

The only way to break this monopoly is to require that producers of oil divest themselves not only of their refining, distributing and marketing subsidiaries, but also of their holdings in coal, gas, uranium and other energy sources.

A massive national effort to develop alternative forms of energy is also essential. By massive, I mean on the scale of the Manhattan Project that produced the atomic bomb in the 1940s, or like the space program that put a man on the moon in the 1960s.

By alternative forms of energy I mean solar, wind, tidal, hydroelectric, geothermal and even conversion of solid waste.

No one pretends it will be easy to break the power of the energy monopoly. But the effort has at least begun. A couple of weeks ago representatives of 60 organizations met in Washington and formally founded a Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition. (ITT, May 3.)

These organizations included such unions as the Machinists, the United Auto Workers, the Steelworkers, State, County and Municipal Employees, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and the Sheet Metal Workers.

Non-labor groups include the Consumer Federation of America, the National Council of Senior Citizens, the Campaign for Economic Democracy, Energy Action and Environmental Policy Center.

Local and state community organizations included the Illinois Public Action Council, Massachusetts Fair Share, Ohio Public Interest Campaign and the Northern Plains Resource Council—to name a few.

The Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition will be a permanent, full-time organization with a governing board made up of one-third labor members, one-third citizen organizations and one-third church and public interest lobbying groups.

We realize there is no way that even 60 citizen organizations representing some tens of millions of Americans can match the unlimited financial resources of the oil and gas lobby. But in the tradition of Debs and Thomas, we are going to raise enough hell that sooner or later the American people are going to wake up.

Many people, including some of my own brothers and sisters in the Machinists un-

Barbara Ehrenreich

Ehrenreich's Corner

How to write a bestseller

Many IN THESE TIMES readers have probably asked themselves, "How can I write a best-selling book and become rich and famous?" In this column I will answer that question with simple guidelines and suggestions.

The first step is choosing a subject. Here there are two important criteria: (1) The subject must not offend any would-be publisher. This criterion is getting harder and harder to meet since most publishing houses have been bought up by conglomerates that also produce such items as dog food, photocopy machines, rock music and surface-to-air missiles. Do not plan to write a book critical of any product of any subsidiary of your publisher's parent conglomerate.

(2) The subject must be "in." The following subjects are either passe or definitely "out": black liberation, Winston Churchill, poverty, feminism, the Bermuda Triangle, corruption and sharks. As a general rule, avoid any subject that requires you to use the words "injustice," "struggle," or "oppression." If any of these words appear in your book, the critics will call you "humorless" or guilty of "mixing politics with art," which, in the literary world, is about on a par with mixing caviar with tartar sauce.

Fortunately this leaves many subjects that are both "in" and inoffensive to publishers. Here are a few examples, deduced from a computer analysis of recent best-selling lists:

- a sex survey of 500 suburban housewives. (Or, if you can't afford the postage, 50 big-city swingers.)

- the personal philosophy of a seagull, Irish setter, or veterinarian.

- a book proving that 1,400 clones of Calvin Coolidge are alive today, all occupying high positions in the public library system.

- a sex survey of 1,400 clones.

- a "how to" book on almost anything: how to succeed even though you are disabled, female, or congenitally shy; how to generate your own electricity from sonic booms; how to dress to intimidate waiters and IRS employees; how to make your own death into a memorable experience; how to start a mail order business in miniature orchids.

At this point you may be feeling panicky. Suppose you have chosen a subject that you know nothing about, and are not much interested in either. What comes next? Months of tedious research and outlining?

Relax. Today's best-seller writer starts—I repeat, *starts*—to plan the book by thinking through the talk shows s/he will be appearing on once the book takes off. Get a friend to role-play the talk show host. Go through as many simulated interviews as you need to develop the plot and major themes. Make notes as you go of any research you may have to do to keep up convincing talk-show chit-chat. Be spontaneous and creative, but never lose sight of the key question: how will my book come across on TV?

For example, suppose you have been inspired by the new "instant best-seller" *Plague Dogs*—a novel about two dogs who escape from a biological warfare lab,

as told by the dogs. So you decide to write a book about a family of E. Coli bacteria who escape from a recombinant DNA lab and hide out in the colon of a leading Atlanta orthopedist who is about to run for the Senate with the backing of the Korean CIA. *Great idea!* Now let's put it through a simulated talk show run:

Host: Hi [fill in an informal version of your name]. Great to have you here with us on the show. You sure take an unusual perspective in uh, uh (he's fighting to remember the name of your book). I never really thought of this DNA stuff from the point of view of the, uh, bacteria.

You: That's just the point, Tom. Everybody's worrying about whether the bacteria could escape from the labs and harm humans. No one's asking: what's it like to have your DNA recombined? I mean, there you were, a normal E. Coli and—splice—you're, you know, *different*.

Just from this brief exchange you learn the importance of a short, snappy title; decide to develop the theme of the bacterial identity crisis; and realize you ought to find out something scientific about E. Coli family life.

Once you've gone through enough simulated TV interviews to get the basic plot down and identify a minimum of facts to research, it's time to face some practical questions: (1) Should you get an agent? The answer is yes—if you're in the mood to contribute to the support of an interesting, well-dressed businessperson who can tell you all sorts of anecdotes about the publishing world. If you are not in the

mood, hustle the book yourself and save the money.

(2) Should you get a lawyer? Again, yes. A good deal of money in publishing is made through the law suits that follow the book's publication. Think in advance of someone *you* would like to sue—your editor, your agent, your co-author or possibly your typist.

Finally there's the problem of where to get all those rave quotes you'll need for ad copy. It is considered unethical to make them up yourself, but with a good lawyer you have quite a bit of latitude. For example, for the E. Coli book, try: "...the best book I have seen on this subject—Gerald Ford." This is safe because it is the *only* book on the subject, and because Gerald Ford will be grateful to see his name in print. Or, given the nature of your subject, you could use "...beyond a doubt the dirtiest book I have ever read," and credit the quote to Frank Zappa. He'll never notice.

But by now it is already time to be thinking of your next best-seller (the talk show hosts will want to know about it anyway.) You can try a variation on the same theme, e.g., the 1919 flu pandemic as seen from the viral point of view. Or you can take a tip from Erica Jong and write a second best-seller about how the first best-seller changed your life: the fame, the sudden wealth, the parties, the moments of self-doubt and loneliness, the travel, the endless talk shows. So, as you promote the first book, always remember to ask yourself: how will this talk show look in my next book? ■



Winpisinger

Continued from previous page.

ion, have taken me to task because I've openly stated that we've got to stop using military spending as an economic crutch.

We have stockpiled enough hydrogen bombs and sophisticated weapons to blow up the world several times over.

Most Americans know this, but too many have become dependent on defense spending. It's become a kind of massive and necessary public works project for individuals and communities alike.

The fact is that military spending is one of the least efficient ways to create jobs. The industries that produce planes, tanks and other implements of war are so capital intensive that it takes a billion dollars to create less than 46,000 jobs.

One solution for the "stagflation" that Carter hasn't been able to solve any other way would be an economic decision to shift \$5 billion out of the defense budget and into a Manhattan Project for the development of solar energy.

Some members of the Machinists union fear for the loss of their jobs in building warplanes, but there are better jobs to be had in building satellites that can be launched into space where they could convert the sun's energy into electricity and transmit it to receiving antenna on earth. The technology is already there, waiting to be developed.

Instead of pushing forward in this direction, the President had recommended \$20.5 million less for solar development in this fiscal year—up until just the other day out in Denver, when the pressure of our "Sun Day" celebration began to get to him—when he said, with his typical ambivalence, that more would be spent.

Perhaps he has been convinced by the oil and gas lobby that solar energy is not economically feasible. They mean that they haven't yet figured out a way to put a meter on the sun, but solar energy is just as economically feasible as stockpil-

ing billions of dollars worth of military hardware that will be obsolete by the time it hits the storage depots.

It's every bit as feasible as exporting 45 billion American dollars this year for oil that's produced at 30 cents a barrel and sold for more than \$12.00 a barrel.

While the administration and Congress diddle around, the American Solar Energy Association estimates that by fully utilizing already existing capacity, more than one million new jobs could be created in the installation or retrofitting of solar heating and cooling systems in existing residential and public buildings.

The immediate payoff would be the creation of one million new jobs, and the ripple effect of these million jobs would create another two-and-a-half to three million more jobs in the rest of the economy.

That would cut unemployment in half. The savings in unemployment compensation and welfare costs alone would total at least \$8 billion a year. And that does not include the billions more that would be saved on oil imports.

With less money flowing out to pay for imported oil. We could begin to reduce the inflation that is slowly but surely impoverishing the American people.

Last Wednesday an estimated 20 million Americans joined in a giant, nationwide solar energy pep rally in honor of "Sun Day." They showed that the American people are ready for an all-out battle to take back control of the country's economic destiny from the energy octopus.

This is a battle that can be won—not by labor alone, not by consumer groups alone, not by citizen organizations alone, not by public interest groups alone, not by churches alone—but by all of us working together. And I believe that's the way Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas would want it. ■

Joshua Dressler

St. Paul gay rights repeal a danger signal

On April 25 of this year, St. Paul, a supposedly progressive Midwestern town, became the second city in the nation to vote to repeal provisions of a Human Rights Ordinance which previously protected gay people. The vote was nearly two-to-one for repeal.

The ordinance in St. Paul was amended nearly four years ago to prohibit discrimination based on "affectional or sexual preference" in the areas of employment, housing, education, and public services. During the subsequent years there were no claims by anybody in the community of any harm as a result.

Suddenly, late last year, a public campaign for the repeal of the provision was initiated by a Baptist fundamentalist preacher, who called homosexuality a "murderous, ugly, twisted, addictive lust." He obtained the requisite signatures for the ballot measure from other fundamentalist followers. During the campaign he received comparatively little religious or institutional support.

On the other side was the St. Paul citizens for Human Rights, a broad-based organization of gays and straights which obtained enormous political, labor union, religious and professional support.

What happened during the campaign may serve as a chilling blueprint of what

The Baptist church, which began the movement, has a poor congregation. Its public supporters were not many. Yet, it hired the largest, most expensive law firm in the Twin Cities to represent them. It blitzed the television with numerous, expensive advertisements, and it clearly had money left over.

Its well-financed campaign was riddled with lies about the legal effect of the ordinance, and the minister preyed on the

fears and prejudices of the heterosexual community. One pamphlet was headlined "They can't reproduce, so they must seduce." The campaign also highlighted non-issues, such as parents' rights.

The campaign was so ugly that it brought to mind the Holocaust. The *Minneapolis Tribune* published an advertisement that called for capital punishment for gays. Supporters of the gay community were threatened with violence. One woman had her home broken into. On the night of the election, car-loads of campaigners drove by gays screaming obscenities at them.

The Baptist preacher was obviously the front for a coalition of right-wing forces: anti-abortion, anti-gay, anti-ERA, and pro-Nazi groups. These groups pooled their money and silently supported the campaign. While the television ads spoke of "decency," an insidious campaign was taking place.

Such groups, of course, are becoming increasingly emboldened. They have won victories in Dade County, St. Paul and most recently (by a five-to-one margin) in Wichita, Kan. A similar election is scheduled for Eugene, Ore. They have also won victories in the abortion field, and they have stalled the ERA. As their victories increase, we can expect them to move on to other communities.

If the defeat in St. Paul has any positive features, they are two: First, the gay community here has now become united and appears ready to take more militant measures to regain their rights. Second, it serves the rest of us as a clear warning that if we wish to prevent this right-wing coalition from making this the Germany of the 1930s and 1940s, we must unite ourselves, to fight for gays, women, and all other groups, NOW. ■

This is Part Three of a three-part series that we hope will inaugurate an ongoing exploration of an American form of socialism, how it would work, and what it would reject or build upon in the American historical experience. We invite responses to the series as well as original articles on the subject. Our hope is to stimulate American socialists to develop critical and concrete thinking about the practical problems of a socialist economy in the U.S.

By Leland Stauber

The political power of the conservative business community in the U.S. rests only in part on its own immediate resources, considerable as these are. Indirect power—the ability to utilize circumstances that are not of its own making and are ultimately beyond its control—is of far greater importance.

Given the importance generally accorded to economic performance, a trump card held by capitalists has been socialists' inability to devise an economically efficient alternative to private ownership of the bulk of big business. I have previously suggested that, on this point, the 20th century has been a graveyard of socialist ideas. American socialism has been no exception.

Socialist sympathies in the U.S. are—have always been—more widespread than support for the tiny parties of the left would indicate. The Democratic party contains today, and has contained for decades, groups who accept private ownership of most big business, not because they like it but because they feel socialists have no solutions to the administrative problems inherent in a socialist alternative. Many Americans' attitude towards socialists amounts to this: "Unless you can explain how to avoid the evils of existing systems, we won't be persuaded. Either come up with something better than capitalism or shut up."

A few questions:

(1) What is to prevent a socialized economy from being a vast bureaucratic monstrosity? If excessive government involvement in the economy is to be prevented, through what institutional structures is this to happen? Who is to hire and fire management in such vast parts of the economy? In a "government-owned" economy is this going to be done by government? What is to prevent such powers of appointment from being used for political purposes—including anti-democratic purposes?

(2) How can public investment funds be allocated to the most efficient and productive enterprises and denied to the least efficient and productive? If the competitive market is to be replaced by "democratic planning," with democratic representation of different regional and local interests, what is to prevent the "planning" from becoming another name for pork-barrel politics?

What is to prevent an accumulation of uneconomic subsidies to inefficient and obsolete enterprises, as workers and localities clamor for protection against closures of plants? When financing is allocated to firms how is the public to know what is a subsidy and what isn't? How can the profitability of an industry or plant be determined as clearly as in the operation of the competitive market?

(3) If the tradition of *unqualified* workers' self-management basically underestimates the need for professional management, how is this role to be preserved and protected and integrated into a socialist system? How is the management of firms to be appointed?

(4) Is political party patronage to be extended into the management of firms in the socialized sectors, as in Italy and countless other countries? If not, how is this to be prevented? How, again, is the managerial function to be protected?

In the face of such questions, American socialists have generally put their heads in the sand. Our "socialist" publications are full of every conceivable subject *except* thought about these problems; indeed, there is probably no subject most socialists want to discuss less than the difficult dilemmas of how to prevent or manage the many unsavory potentialities of socialism.

PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

For a socialism that works: Part III

But unless socialists can provide solid answers to these and other questions, the conservative business community and the Republican party have nothing to fear from America's socialists; they can rightly conclude they are a scatter-brained bunch—and therefore harmless.

This is the real state of the American socialist movement today—a vacuum of practical socialist ideas. The symptoms abound. Such problems, it is said, will be solved by "history." Instead of discussing these fundamental questions it is more "relevant" to hold conferences on the prospects of "the left" in the next presidential election. Or, it is said, socialists should concentrate their minds on agitation for liberal reforms in order to build "the movement"; a socialist program will materialize "later." Or, socialist organizations are "too fragile" to withstand discussion of such baffling and divisive issues, so they are best avoided in order to hold "the organization" together.

Some answers:

But all of this puts the cart before the horse. No "socialist movement" can be built upon a vacuum of practical socialist ideas. Capitalist political power, by contrast, rests, by default, precisely on that foundation.

To fill this vacuum the needed ideas must derive, not from romanticized portrayals of existing socialist systems, but from understanding of the *defects* of those systems. The needed ideas must provide, not vague slogans and misty hopes, but direct and practical answers to these defects.

To do this, some of the most sacred cows of socialist tradition will have to be dispatched to slaughter. You are going to need, within the framework of social ownership, a major role for a *purely commercial* institution. This violates one of the most sacrosanct dogmas of socialist tradition—that "public bodies should never be purely commercial." But precisely

by violating that dogma we can remove every single one of the really major administrative difficulties of a socialist system.

Thus, as to problem 1 above, national government power and bureaucracy can be limited by retaining the stock-company form of organization for firms, using this to disperse the ownership of each firm, and vesting that ownership in thousands of local public investment banks controlled by local governments. Simultaneously, national government regulation of these banks can be used to organize a national capital market and to insulate firms from political influences of individual local governments by permitting each bank to own only a small percentage of the stock of any given firm.

As to problem 2 above, the economic discipline of the market can be created by having the allocation of regular (external) investment funds to firms take place through a capital market that is separate from government. This means that when governments do intervene in the economy, to subsidize socially desirable but uneconomic activities, these measures will be far more visible and exposed to political challenge than if the regular financing of firms is decided within administrative agencies of government. The purpose of this is not *laissez-faire*; it is to put maximum pressure on governments to take direct political responsibility for the intervention they undertake.

As to problem 3 above, the needed role for professional management can be provided by having the management of firms appointed, not primarily by their employees, but primarily by financial institutions that receive profits from the firms and thus have a direct stake in their management on profit-and-loss principles.

As to problem 4 above, the most effective way to limit political party patronage in management is to create a situation where, as in private business, the appointment of management is removed as far

as possible from government and politics and the atmosphere is dominated by commercial motives and incentives.

The type of socialism that would make the most sense economically, however, would also be the most strategic politically, not only here but also in other countries. Not only does the U.S. need socialism, but the American predilection for pluralism and the market would be good for socialism as an international movement. It could vastly expand both its economic flexibility and its political potency in allowing wedges to be driven into the coalitions that comprise socially conservative political power. In this country, it could eventually become the program of the Democratic party.

A network of thousands of local public investment banks, which could contract out parts of their portfolio management to local stock brokerage firms and other local financial institutions, would be thoroughly decentralized and pluralistic. Precisely by violating much "orthodox" tradition, it would, in the context of American culture, be as comfortable as the corner drugstore and as sound as Herbert Hoover.

To the broad liberal camp, both its popular constituencies and its elite establishments—people who know big business is their political enemy but fear both bureaucratic and syndicalist socialism—we could explain a concrete plan that can remove both of those fears and explain how conservative power is supported by their own traditional belief in the sanctity of private property.

For a century in the U.S. the holders of concentrated wealth and the major parties have told us we need the sacrosanct system of "free enterprise" to save us from "the concentration of power" of socialism. That argument is a two-edged sword. Let us make it come home to roost.

Our conservative business community perennially opposes federal government actions for progressive and decent purposes—in a thousand different fields—and professes a love for local institutions. Fipe. That fits American tradition. Let us give it to them.

But American socialists are going to have to decide whether they want to hear themselves repeat fixed dogmas of their own or whether they want to see the results we are talking about here.

Leland Stauber is professor of political science, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. He is the author of the forthcoming book, *Market Socialism and the Problems of Control: A Reappraisal of Practical Experience*. The views outlined in his three-part series are presented in greater detail in his article, "A Proposal for a Democratic Market Economy," *Journal of Comparative Economics*, Sept. 1977.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS

Everyone's a hero in the Big Race

By Anita Diamant

E O S T I O N

ALMOST 27 MILES LONG, INVOLVING OVER 4,000 RUNNERS and almost half a million live viewers, the Boston Marathon is quite a show. People come to run in it from around the world. And still more come to town to clean up on the business of running.

Millions of words have been written about the 82 runnings of the Boston Marathon. The winners have been profiled; the crowds discussed, praised and rebuked; the wheelchair entries have been reverently hailed; even the "little people" who run without official numbers have had their day in print. But still, there is no way to tell the full story of the Marathon.

I spent two full days with the race. I was disgusted and inspired, shocked and awed. I was glad when it was over, and proud to have been there.

★ ★ ☆ ☆ ☆

There are people in Boston who don't know about the Marathon. It's a feature of Patriot's Day, like the neighborhood parades and the "re-enactment" out in Lexington, that many people simply ignore. It's a traffic jam.

But for runners—in Boston and around the world—the Marathon is the race of the year, the race of a lifetime.

The Marathon starts earlier every year. This year it began, in earnest, on Saturday, the start of a weekend of seminars, running "shows" and full hotels.

Sunday, 1,100 people paid \$10 for a day-long conference called "Boston Marathon Sports Medicine Running Seminar"—lots of doctors, podiatrists, trainers, coaches, but mostly runners.

The most popular presentation was a lecture by Dr. George Sheehan, M.D. If you're not a runner who's into the culture, that name probably means nothing to you. But if you can identify Ron Hill, Jack Fultz or Joan Uiyot as easily as Bill Rodgers or Frank Shorter, you're familiar with the Guru of Running.

The movie that followed Dr. Sheehan's talk (starring the good doctor himself) drew gasps of amazement and spontaneous applause from the whole audience (including me) as we watched all kinds of people completing last year's race; at the story and sight of a one-legged man finishing the New York City marathon in just over six hours on his prosthesis; at the apple-faced 80-year-old woman who jogs a mile every morning; at 30, 40 and 50-year-old people in smiling good health. Watching it, you felt that human bodies were built to run, as well as think, love and work.

A circulation booster.

The YMCA gym next door held the running trade's show: tables of shoes, shirts and shorts, mini-slide shows, reflectors, sweat bands and "literature."

The *Runner's World* table was in the middle of the floor, holding court. Referred to as the runner's "bible" in everything from *Rolling Stone* to the *Wall Street Journal*, *Runner's World* has been around and growing for the past 12 years. Last year the circulation doubled.

Circulation manager Robin Wolander said that the magazine had gone from 70,000 in July 1977 to 240,000 in April '78. She thinks that circulation might eventually level off at one million, "but don't tell my boss I said that."

Wolander, like every other runner (and running magnate), believes that running

is here to stay. "I don't believe it's a fad. Every marathon we have covered has doubled in size in the last year."

"As a runner I know I'd never stop. As a woman, I feel more assertive. I can do anything."

Robin Wolander wants to run Boston next year.

Charlene Vettorello started running eight years ago. Always a physical person, "I got tired of swimming—the hair business. Besides, running is a lot easier. It's cheap and you don't need a pool."

A Motor City Strider (the Detroit AAU club), the 82nd Boston Marathon was her fifth marathon race. Last year she finished in three hours and 25 minutes, the 48th woman to finish.

"I discovered myself after running. I have become mentally stronger, more goal oriented and physically stronger. It opens up a lot. Makes you want to explore other parts of your life. It opened me up to people, mostly to other runners or people connected to fitness."

Charlene's last long run was the preceding Friday—12½ miles. The day before the race, she was "nervous but riding high."

"I have a terrible hunger to finish. When I started training ten weeks ago I said, 'By God, if I'm going to go through this, I'm going to finish.' All the time, trouble and expense. Even if I have to walk, I'll finish."

"But it may not be my day. You never know. When you're running you do the best you can. And when you finish, you let go of it."

Everyone's a hero.

Everyone who finishes in Boston is something of a hero. Tom Plumly was sitting in the lobby of the YMCA where beer, cookies and apple juice were ready for women marathoners. Since none had arrived yet, Tom was the guest of honor, a hero. He was in pain from the neck down, but his smile didn't fade.

It took about two and a half minutes before Tom's group started to run in Hopkinton at noon. He crossed the finish line (26 miles and 385 yards away) two hours and 53 minutes later.

It had been a perfect day for running—cool, no sun. There were few complaints about the race itself. "The crowds got too close along the way so that runners tripped each other and the finish was bad." But Tom still thought it was "the nicest marathon I've been to because of the people." Going up Heartbreak Hill the crowds were an asset. "The more people there to cheer, the fewer the drop-outs."

He wanted me to make sure I wrote down what he had to say about the running mystique: "I think runners are better off running than reading those books."

Tom came from Fairbanks, Alaska, to run the Boston Marathon. "It was worth it," he said. "I'll be back."

I never found Charlene Vettorello on the day of the race. But I saw her name and number in the newspaper. W132, she finished 130th among the women with a time of 3:31:23.

Runner's World has started a new publication called *On the Run*, a *Rolling Stone*-type bi-monthly. Dr. George Sheehan is on the cover of the first edition, but the story, by *Boston Globe* sportswriter Peter Gammons, stresses Sheehan's spiritual leadership rather than his physiological theories. "Runners," he posits, "are secular saints."

Runner's World founder Bob Anderson's opening "editorial" is even more explicit: "...because of its spiritual nature,



Nova Tringale



Peggy McMahon

Top: Boston Marathon winner Bill Rodgers leans on Ellen Rodgers, his wife; Bottom: Runners came from all over the world, including this runner from Japan.

running is a movement, a religion. It is a way of overcoming the pressures of society, a way of discovering the limits of your power.

"Someone once said, 'For humanity to survive, it will have to invent a new religion.' The religion has been invented. It is the religion of the runner. Its power is increasing."

The mystification of running makes for good business, lousy theology and worse morality. It's sold as "me-centered" and chic, a way to ease the tensions of a full, sedentary life. It's even being touted as a way out of feeling guilty or responsible for the ills of society; as a sort of behaviorist therapy for depression.

Running is good for the body and probably as good for the soul. But the running mystique only serves to further alienate people from each other, from a sense of

their connectedness and dependence upon others. It can even cut you off from feeling good about yourself: looking for that much-vaunted runner's high, ignoring the pain in your knees too long, feeling constrained to keep running even if maybe you'd rather walk. The dictatorship of fashion can co-opt even as pure and simple a pleasure as running.

Articulating the delight without bombast or hyperbole or false promises does not sell shoes or magazines or books. Just as the "sexual revolution" has been used to sell and distort sexuality, so the "running revolution" is trying to take away a free and natural function and return it to us with a manufactured need for professional guidance, and a price tag.

Anita Diamant writes regularly on sports for *IN THESE TIMES*.

LEBANON

Continued from page 12.

anese political deck in which the Christian Front had been increasingly coming out on the bottom. On my way back to the U.S., I talked to an Israeli army spokesman who confirmed this view. "Sooner or later we had to help the Christians," he said. "They were taking an awful beating."

He also explained that the Israelis, like the U.S. and the Christian Front, were counting on the moderate Moslem leaders to break with the leftist LNM and join the Christians in an alliance against the PLO. The invasion was an attempt to show the Moslems, particularly the Shi'ites, the price they would have to pay for a Palestinian armed presence.

Nothing but bullshit.

The Israelis only partially succeeded in their military objectives. In eight days of fighting, the PLO and LNM stopped them short of the Litani River and the port of Tyre. PLO spokesmen claimed upwards of 1,000 Israeli casualties, while Israelis acknowledged only a tenth of these.

PLO head Yasir Arafat reached an agreement with UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to respect a UN-enforced ceasefire in the south, but the LNM has refused to abide by it. On the basis of Israeli statements they don't expect them to withdraw except by force. Communist Action Organization member Nasser el-Assad said that fighting the Israelis was now the LNM's "first priority."

Recent clashes in the South between UN forces and what the press terms "Palestinian guerillas" have, in fact, been between the UN and the LNM.

But while the military morale of the PLO and LNM is high, they are not optimistic about the Lebanese political situation. They fear an effort by the U.S., Israel, the Christian Front, and the Saudis to isolate them and the PLO and the Lebanese left.

In late April, their fears were realized. With U.S. prodding, the Front's politicians sought to win moderate Moslem support in Parliament for an accord that would ban all private armies in Lebanon, including that of the Palestinians. (One candid Front politician described it as the "American accord.") The strategy was to use the accord as the opening round of a political offensive against the PLO.

The first target would be the Syrians, who would be asked to enforce the accord against their allies. When they refused, as expected, the Front would demand their replacement by the largely French UN forces, which could claim international legitimacy in efforts to disarm the Palestinians. Meanwhile, the U.S. would persuade the Saudis to bring financial pressure on the PLO to accept arms limitations.

But the first stage of the Front-U.S. plan faltered when the moderate Moslems would only agree to support the accord if the preamble specified that the Cairo agreement guaranteeing the PLO's armed presence was still in effect. The result was a direct contradiction between the text and the preamble, which led leaders on all sides to scorn it.

Front leader Charles Malik labelled it "mutual lying, mutual hypocrisy, mutual superficial patching up differences." Communist Nasser el-Assad was equally blunt: "This agreement is nothing but bullshit," he said.

A no-win war.

Nobody in Lebanon sees any solution in sight to Lebanon's problems. "Even if we achieve national reconciliation," Walid Jumblatt said, "one day it will explode—five or ten years from now."

What then was the choice? "Either we have to win, or they have to win," Jumblatt replied.

But an outsider casting amidst Lebanon's ruins for a solution to its problems

might have doubts about whether anyone can win or lose this war. Other civil wars—in Britain, the U.S., China—have had winners and losers, but they have also not been as intermeshed with world politics and other people's wars as Lebanon's mini-world war is.

It is hard to imagine a victory or defeat in Lebanon's war while the Palestinians still battle the Israelis for the right to their own state on the West Bank and Gaza, while an anxious Syria and Saudi Arabia stand poised between left and right, Christian and Moslem, and while the Soviet Union, and the U.S., and their Mideast allies pour aid into the different sides of the struggle.

Even Richard Parker, the American ambassador, who is supposed to be a

fount of rational optimism, refused to predict an end to Lebanon's troubles. When he was asked whether instability was inevitable in Lebanon, he replied dolefully, "I am afraid that is correct."

This article was written from interviews conducted during a ten-day trip to Lebanon, sponsored by the Arab-American University Graduates. To the extent that it was possible, I tried to talk to all sides in the Lebanese conflict: left, right, Christian, Moslem, Lebanese, Palestinian and American. In describing Israeli motives in Lebanon, however, I have limited myself (except in one instance where I got confirmation) to describing what the Lebanese thought were Israeli motives. Next week: The Palestinians in Lebanon.

Hospital workers

Continued from page 8.

of the workers—and the majority was destroyed," Muelenkamp said. The only way to reverse this disastrous trend, 1199 leaders believe, is for the Congress to pass the Labor Law Reform bill now under Senate consideration.

Despite these problems, 1199 national organizing is proceeding at a steady pace. While the field organizing staff has been reduced slightly since 1975, the union is attracting 5,000-8,000 workers per year, Muelenkamp told IN THESE TIMES. The union now has members in a dozen states and is focusing current efforts on the Midwest and South.

Deepening organization.

In addition to expanding geographically, 1199 is "deepening" its organization among hospital workers who traditionally have considered themselves non-union professionals. State nurses associations increasingly are ineffective in collective bargaining and unable to improve working conditions and wages for registered nurses and LPNs. The New York State Nurses Association, for instance, routinely negotiates three-year contracts with

minimum salary raises and reductions in existing benefits. Since it includes supervisory personnel, the NYSNA has been "totally ineffective in pursuing RN grievances," says the 1199 officer.

In February 1977 1199 won an election among 642 RNs at Brookdale Hospital in New York City. That victory was followed by the creation of a separate RN division to coordinate organizing campaigns, decide the contents of RN contracts, and determine when strike action is required. The new division has already won 14 elections.

The influx of RNs into 1199 is certain to strengthen the union's bargaining leverage, since hospital administrators will have more difficulty using "professional" employees to substitute for service workers during strikes. It also promises to alter RNs' relation to the hospital hierarchy. "We know we can be 1199 League members and still be professionals," one newly organized RN commented. "RN's have been neglected for too long. We need improved benefits. We need real professionalism. Above all we need the strength we can get through unity with other hospital employees."



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ART?



Sculptor Carl Andre's controversial *Stone Field* in Hartford, Ct.

Alan Decker

The new arbiters of public art

By Terry Trucco

Granite-willed New Englanders have been laboriously clearing their inhospitable land of boulders ever since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. So when minimalist sculptor Carl Andre was paid \$100,000 to deposit 36 immense glacial boulders on the small, green lawn in front of a colonial church in Hartford last fall, the howls of protest could be heard all over Connecticut.

What made Andre's work, entitled *Stone Field*, especially outrageous to many critics was that the taxpayers had footed the bill.

The federal bureaucracy is now the patron, and, increasingly, the arbiter of the arts. No fewer than 300 monumental art works now freckle parks and plazas in cities from coast to coast, all financed and frequently chosen by the federal government. Many more are to come. Add to these the public works of art sponsored by state and local governments, and the result is the biggest exhibition of publicly financed art in America since the Depression.

Federal, state and local governments, of course, have been erecting statues of Ulysses S. Grant on horseback and commissioning heroic murals of the Marines storming the Halls of Montezuma for generations. What makes this new public art noteworthy is that it often uses the taxpayers' money to undermine conventional wisdoms, rather than legitimize them.

The government's new role as financier of the avant-garde derives from the street protests of the late 1960s. Back then, major contemporary artists like Mark diSuvero and Claus Oldenburg erected modern sculptural monuments at their own expense. It was their way of protesting the Vietnam War, just as Picasso once had protested air raids on civilians in Spain by painting *Guernica*.

The General Services Administration (GSA)—the federal government's housekeeping agency—began by setting aside a small part of the cost of each new public building for artistic embellishment. Later the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) inaugur-

ated a matching grants program, which pays half the cost of a public art work if a local government or community organization can raise the rest. Most recently, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), designed to create jobs for the unemployed, has put hundreds of largely unknown artists to work all over the country.

The CETA art program, which rescues young, disadvantaged artists from poverty and oblivion, embodies the populist spirit of art of, by and for the people that characterized the New Deal WPA programs of the '30s. But it is the NEA that has become the nation's principal curator of public art.

The NEA does not just pay for public sculpture; it dispatches its own art experts to meet with community representatives to decide what artists will get a commission in Indianapolis, or what abstract sculpture will fill a public park in Miami. Some community organizations complain it is a case of a small, government-paid elite engaging in aesthetic dictatorship.

While local reactions are often hostile, the officials who administer the programs, and the artists who are paid by them, are delighted. The GSA receives as many as 60 letters a week from artists seeking commissions.

Some artists admit they are grateful to get government money. "There's a type of self-respect involved with this, too, because the artist is being acknowledged as a useful contributor to society," says a CETA artist in North Carolina. Others say that public art lets them reach a public that does not visit galleries and museums. The new audience is a challenge, says sculptor Carl Andre. "It's like starting all over in gaining acceptance of one's work. When you shift onto the next cultural level, you're starting back to square one."

But so far as Hartford and Andre's controversial *Stone Field* are concerned, he has yet even to reach square one. His project has become a case study in the perils of cultural government. A considerable sum of public money was spent on an artist whose work the public openly detests.

Critics in Hartford, who have

to walk past Andre's boulders daily, point out that at \$100,000, the work cost nearly \$2,800 a boulder. "For \$100,000 we could have encouraged the talents of hundreds of young, jobless artists right here in Hartford," complains one official connected with a program that is suffocating for lack of federal funds. "Hartford has been hit hard by the urban crisis. Andre added insult to injury by ripping us off."

Stone Field also became a major issue in Hartford's latest mayoral election. "A slap in the face of the poor and elderly," complained one candidate. According to a Hartford museum curator, "It became almost a matter of, 'If you like this sculpture, you're against motherhood.'"

Both art authorities and government officials agree the choice between public art and public services is a false one, saying there must be a place for both in a country as rich as America. But many are concerned that public money is making art less, not more democratic. According to one authority on New York art auctions, the government pays "considerably more" than private and corporate collectors pay at public art auctions.

Most art dealers vigorously deny the charge, and assert that artists often take cuts in fees when they accept public commissions. At the GSA, Don Thalacker points out that Claus Oldenburg used his own money to complete his 100-foot-tall *Batcolumn* in Chicago when government funds ran out.

The debate over taxpayer art increasingly is a debate not over it, but over how the money will be spent. Defenders of present programs say government commissions are educating the public and carrying public art to the very frontiers of artistic creation. Critics assert that the money spent enriching a handful of controversial artists, if used less elitistly, could make art a living force, directly relevant to people's lives, in culturally deprived communities all over America.

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Terry Trucco regularly writes on the arts for Pacific News Service.

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FILM



A beautiful, disturbing film

COMING HOME

Written by Waldo Salt and Robert C. Jones
Directed by Hal Ashby
With Bruce Dern, Jane Fonda and John Voigt
United Artists release, Rated R

Ten years ago, Hollywood served us *The Green Berets* a la John Wayne, complete with tough but warm-hearted American heroes, dirty little commie-dink bad guys, lots of action and a sun that miraculously managed to set in the east. *Coming Home* is a vast improvement.

Bob, a Marine captain played by Bruce Dern, leaves for Vietnam early in the movie. His wife Sally (Jane Fonda) decides to occupy her time by doing volunteer work in a VA hospital, where she meets Luke (John Voigt), a paraplegic ex-Marine sergeant. Luke and Sally have an affair. With Sally's help, Luke learns to cope with his disability and his involvement in Vietnam. With Luke's example, Sally turns against the war. Bob returns home, an emotional basketcase, unable to deal with his

experiences in the war or his wife's affair, and freaks out permanently. Along the way, several subplots weave in and out of the main story.

The film's major innovation is a penetrating look at the disruptive effect of Vietnam not only on American soldiers, but on their wives and girlfriends, whose anguish is carefully drawn. The movie is fittingly disturbing, and often beautiful, but its real power is in the background against which the plot develops: the veterans' hospital filled with misery, insensitivity and frustration; the hospital planes disgorging the walking wounded, the stretcher cases, and the caskets; men in wheelchairs playing football and basketball; paraplegics with urine bags dangling from their beds—the emotional and physical wreckage of America's worst fiasco.

Against this background, familiar faces like Voigt, Fonda and Dern (all of whom give creditable performances) don't quite fit. Or perhaps they fit too well. *Coming Home* leaves one feeling drained and depressed, but those familiar

faces help the audience to reassure itself that *Coming Home* is, after all, just a movie. Isn't Voigt even better than he was in *Midnight Cowboy*? Fonda's come a long way since *Barbarella*, hasn't she?

Too much straight, hard truth might be more than most moviegoers could handle. One can excuse a certain amount of compromise. The real defects of the movie, like its strengths, don't have much to do with the plot or the starred performers.

One ought to leave the theater angry that it has taken ten years to get from *The Green Berets* to *Coming Home*. One ought to reflect hard on the fact that all those broken and crippled people who give the movie its impact are still wallowing in VA hospitals, tucked away in permanent convalescent homes, working in factories and stores and offices, starring in a *Coming Home* that nobody comes to see. —W.D. Ehrhart and Don Venes

W.D. Ehrhart and Don Venes are free-lance writers in Chicago who write regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Polish films explore a multi-faceted society

LANDSCAPE AFTER BATTLE
Directed by Andrzej Wajda
Screenplay by Andrzej Wajda and Andrzej Brzozowski
Distributed by New Yorker Films

Lenin's dictum that film is the most important art has secured it a place of relative freedom in Eastern Europe—especially in Poland.

Andrzej Wajda's *Landscape After Battle*, completed in 1970, has just been released in the U.S. It is based on Tadeusz Borowski's *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen*, a collection of stories relating the author's own experience in a concentration camp.

The Borowski of the film is a poet, a frail intellectual placed against a background of a displaced persons' camp. The camp becomes a new stage in unfreedom after the opening scene of liberation undercuts any illusions of optimism. Discarding the realist approach for romantic effect, Wajda choreographs a joyful, bounding and swirling tornado of freshly uniformed inmates welcoming their liberators. Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* is masterfully arranged as a contrapuntal device to deprive this moment of its emancipatory content. The inmates, depleted after a day of rejoicing, soon realize that in a homeless Europe there is nowhere to go. The displaced persons' camp replaces the concentration camp. American guards replace German guards.

The camp serves as a microcosm of Polish society. Catholic clergy, Communists, Home Army soldiers, intellectuals, Jews—the sociological components of Poland's post-war history act out their mutually antagonistic roles.

Wajda's presentation of Borowski's relationship with a Jewish girl is a bold allegory of the anti-Semitic campaign that drove most of Poland's few remaining Jews from the country in 1968. The girl at first tells Borowski that she fled voluntarily and desires to go to Israel. Later she admits she

was chased out of Poland. The Polish government has always insisted that the mass exodus demonstrated Jewish loyalty to Zionism and not to Poland. Wajda's rejection of this fabrication was a courageous act at a time when even non-Jews faced severe punishment for opposing the "anti-Zionist" campaign.

This scene takes on special significance today since the release of Wajda's masterpiece, *The Promised Land*, has been blocked because of charges from Jewish organizations that it is anti-Semitic. Having seen the film in Poland, I can say that the Jews in this film about the development of industrial capitalism in Poland are treated like Wajda's other characters: ambivalently, both as offenders and as victims.

Wajda's persistent trademark is the rejection of heroes and villains and the dismantling of their myths. Even Borowski, Wajda's favorite, remains incapable of escaping from the displaced persons' camp that is the incarcerator of his odes to freedom and renaissance. Traditional values of patriotism and national culture bind Borowski to the camp and lead to his eventual repatriation to Poland.

The final scene shows Borowski departing from the camp for his beloved Poland, pulling in tow a cart of scorched books, the detritus of a war against culture. Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* resumes, and again the audience senses the foreboding in the air. Borowski, the man who wrote that "to live is to forget," gassed himself to death five years later.

Wajda's vision is a deeply pessimistic one, in which "progress" appears as the pile of debris that we, advancing backward into the future, see accumulating in the storms of history.

—Mark H. Lazerson
New Yorker Films is at 16 W. 61st St., New York City 10023. Mark H. Lazerson is a free-lance writer in New York.

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BOOKS

The literature of a new revolutionary unity



H. Bruce Franklin

THE VICTIM AS CRIMINAL AND ARTIST: Literature from the American Prison
By H. Bruce Franklin
Oxford University Press, New York, 1978, \$12.95

H. Bruce Franklin has successfully combined the roles of scholar and activist. His autobiography, *Back Where You Came From: A Life in the Death of Empire*, traces his life from conformist to revolutionary. His personal and professional interests have again come together in this masterful attempt to explore the neglected literature of society's victims and those who have identified with them.

Literature has been used as a weapon, by some to defend the system, by others to challenge it. Franklin defines his subject as "literature created by those members of the oppressed classes who have become artists with words

through their experience of being defined by the state as criminals." Those he is most concerned with have not only written about their own oppression, but have spoken for the oppressed generally, particularly for blacks.

He begins with a study of slave narratives, beginning with Frederick Douglass'. This genre was the first to demonstrate "that in societies divided into social classes much of the most significant art has come from the misery of the oppressed classes, whether created by the oppressed people themselves or by socially conscious individual artists drawn from the more privileged classes."

Herman Melville is included as a most eloquent spokesman for the oppressed. His experiences on whale ships (here considered closed institutions) qualified him to understand the oppressions of capitalism. In Franklin's view, all Melville's works from *Typee* to *Billy Budd* demonstrate his hatred of unchecked individualism and his desire for the cooperative, equalitarian, integrated society.

Franklin next jumps to the songs of illiterate slaves and freedmen, spirituals and work songs that allowed blacks to express fears, beliefs and aspirations in the only form acceptable to whites. This music reveals "the experience of national imprisonment that defines and distinguishes Afro-American culture in all its aspects."

This is the crux of Franklin's argument: that the black experience and the prison experience have been and are the same, which gives blacks a profound insight in-

to the basic flaws of a society that is a prison for all.

Convict literature had its origins in 16th century Spain and continued in colonial America, where its confessional nature served the needs of a religious, hierarchical society. Not until the early 20th century did there appear a significantly new approach, the author identifying with others and defining a prison class, composed of society's victims. This broadening came from those who had been political radicals before entering prison, like the anarchist Alexander Berkman and the socialist Eugene V. Debs.

There appeared a large number of works from this perspective, including much of Jack London's prose. Franklin quotes liberally and only skims the surface, if one is to judge from his extensive bibliography.

The last and key chapter is a broad survey of prison prose and poetry since the early 1960s. Most famous works are *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and the writings of Eldridge Cleaver and George Jackson, but there is a great deal more, all of high literary quality and political sophistication. These politically conscious writers expose and attack society's inherent problems, problems stemming from our earliest years as a slave society.

It has always been the same for the oppressed. As the white "lifer" Tommy Trantino writes:

"I was in prison long ago and it was the first grade and I have to take a shit and even when you have to take a shit the law says you must first raise your hand

and ask the teacher for permission so I obeyed of the lore of the lamb as therefore busy raising my hand to the fuhrer who says yes thomas what is its? and I thomas say I have to take a I mean may I go to the bathroom please? ...but she says NO and I say but mrs. parsley judge sir ma'am I gotta go make number two!"

Franklin ends on the hope that black and white prisoners are getting their political (revolutionary) consciousness together. "Despite grave obstacles, it is in the prisons of America that unity among its domestic victims has at times reached a revolutionary level." He quotes from a short poem by two white prisoners that reveals the impact of George Jackson

and the coming unity:

*We're down for the change
and it's coming down.
Jackson lives in our heads
Attica lives in our heart.*

Franklin desires to awaken not only the slumbering academic community, which for too long has narrowly interpreted what good literature can be, but also the rest of us, to deepen our understanding of the brutalities of the system. Prisoners are its most visible victims. They have a great deal to tell us.

Whether much of their work is of literary merit, however, remains to be seen.

—Ronald D. Cohen
Ronald D. Cohen teaches at Indiana University Northwest, Gary.

An introduction to the America we don't know

THE LATIN AMERICANS
By Carlos Rangel
Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich,
\$11.95

In *The Latin Americans*, Carlos Rangel describes a late 1940s "Walt Disney film, *Saludos, Amigos!*, in which Donald Duck stood for the United States and a parrot wearing a Mexican sombrero stood for Latin America."

For too many Americans, knowledge of the vast and varied continent-and-a-half to the south has barely gone beyond such patronizing stereotypes. For them, and for almost all of us, this informative, lucid volume is most welcome.

Rangel, an American educated former member of the Venezuelan Foreign Service, has two foci:

(1) Latin America's "love-hate relationship" with the Yankee Big Brother to the north. While many Latin American countries have emulated American education, law and other aspects of this country's liberal pluralism, they have understandably resented repeated attempts by Washington to "destabilize" regimes that it finds undesirable (directly in Guatemala in 1954 and the Dominican Republic in 1965; indirectly in Chile in 1973; abortively in Cuba in 1961). For its part, American policy toward Latin America has vacillated "between hegemony and neglect," with short-

lived periods of highflown rhetoric (FDR's "Good Neighbor Policy"; JFK's "Alliance for Progress") in between.

(2) The various Latin American movements and mythologies which compete for political and ideological supremacy: "arielism" (anti-urban populism based on a cult of "Latinity"), aprism (an anti-Stalinist, independent and sometimes democratic communism), Catholicism and *Caudillismo* (rule by a military strongman a la Juan Peron).

The Latin Americans' chief flaw is that it covers too many topics too briefly—the author flitters from country to country, often assuming that the reader has more than a rudimentary acquaintance with the historical and political events of which he writes. Thus, for example, there is only an inadequate sketch of the Latin Americans' three-decade-long struggle for independence from Spain.

Rangel does, nevertheless, provide an invaluable introduction to the region's culture and politics. As America moves (with the canal treaties) into a new phase of its relationship with the hemisphere south of the Rio Grande, *The Latin Americans* is must reading for foreign policy makers and concerned laypeople.

—David Szonyi
David Szonyi is a doctoral candidate in history.



Drawing by David Levine. Reprinted with permission of New York Review of Books ©1973, Nyrev, Inc.

Rostow's recipe for capitalist preserves

GETTING FROM HERE TO THERE: America's Future in the World Economy
By W.W. Rostow
McGraw-Hill, New York, 1978

This astute work is written by a leading intellectual of the ruling

class for the explicit purpose of defining and controlling American economic policy over the next generation. It addresses the problem of how—in the face of the energy crisis, environmental hazards, declining popular standards of living, chronic inflation and interna-

Radicals would be well-advised to take advantage of his research.

tional trade wars—the American system can be preserved.

While Rostow's explanation for the causes of the overall difficulties of American capitalism is desultory, he has generally intelligent policy advice to the ruling class as to how to manage the most troublesome manifestations. He is most educative as to the scope and character of these various problems (especially on raw materials). Radicals would be well advised to become as informed on these issues as Rostow by taking advantage of his detailed empirical research, the bulk of which is more useful than much cant that currently passes for Marxism.

There is, however, something far more valuable in this work than the author's specific analyses (which are often only practical for those adopting a ruling class perspective). That is the sweep of his vision, which takes the maintenance of the contemporary civilization as its responsibility. It is helpful to us to ponder such a total perspective in shaping an equally articulated response. The difference, of course, is that in our case the vision must be one on behalf of all humanity, not simply a minuscule minority.

—Edward Greer
Edward Greer is a member of the labor law firm of Bigelow and Greer in Chicago.

OAKLAND'S WHITE ELEPHANTS



By Barry Codell

CHARLES O. FINLEY, SPORTS' FAVORITE persecuted millionaire, has a new line: "Beware of the Amazing, Blazing A's!" Finley's unlikely Oakland Athletic aggregate has stood the American League on its collective batting helmet with a 19-5 won-lost record. As of May 6, they held a four-game first place margin in the league's western division.

The affair between Oakland citizens and the A's is still, of course, an unfounded rumor. Despite their winning streak and late-inning escape acts, the A's are headed for the lowest big-league attendance in 25 years.

Baseball's hottest story has, as usual, the bungling of its brass to thank.

After a disastrous 1977 campaign, Finley was eager to throw in his owner's cap and recoup his losses by selling the A's to Denver oil tycoon Marvin Davis. The American League, excited to exchange dwindling gate receipts for Colorado caviar, indicated it would approve the sale immediately and unanimously. A simple transaction, right?

Not on your baseball, fans.

First, the landlords of the Oakland Coliseum, center of the diamond's ghost town, cited the "irreparable harm" to the city the A's flight would cause. Finley's lease with the Coliseum, which he had insisted be extended until 1987, was binding for its duration, or until baseball could raise a \$2 million ante for Coliseum officials.

Charlie argued that his Bay rivals, the

San Francisco Giants, should pay a million for the pleasure of his leaving, and that the rest of the league could raise the other million. All parties agreed, except the Coliseum owners who upped the cost of their "harm" to \$3 million.

Commissioner Kuhn then decided Finley should pay his own way out of his troubles. After weeks of self-serving haggling, nothing was finalized except inertia. The A's began their season in Oakland on a "lame-duck" basis, threatening to pull out for Denver in time for their first protracted home stand in late April.

Ragamuffin A's.

By then, however, Finley had warmed to the idea of his "ragamuffin" A's. Through wholesale roster changes Finley created a combination of green prospects and little used benchwarmers that seemed to thrive on their first legitimate big-league chance.

A team variously described as a "disaster area," "inept," and "cellar dwellers" in pre-season prognostications was still showing its dust to the baseball world in the second week of May.

Finley—and he would concur—deserves the credit. Twenty-one out of his 25 players have been begged and stolen from other teams. His trades have been shockers. He swapped super southpaw Vida Blue for seven little known Giants, for instance, and the deal has been a gold mine.

Six of the players have played key roles in Oakland's early celebrations. Pitchers John Henry Johnson and Allan Wirth have moved in the A's stingy starting rotation, without benefit of previous big-league experience. Reliever Dave Heaverlo

has been a stopper in the bullpen. Short-stop Mario Guerrero has sparkled at bat and in the field. Outfielder Gary Thomasson has added experience and power. Designated hitter Gary Alexander has hit a remarkable six game-winning home runs in the season's first month.

Finley's other moves have also hit the jackpot. From the Pirates he pirated second baseman Mike Edwards, a hustling, slick fielder who had no chance in the Pittsburgh scheme of things. He welcomed the chance to play regularly for the frantic Finleyites. "I don't care if anyone shows up to see us. This is still the major leagues," Edwards says.

The A's also got their prize left fielder, Mitchell Page, centerfielders Tony Armas and Miguel Dilone, and hurlers Rick Langford and Elias Sosa from Pittsburgh.

Ironically, Commissioner Kuhn himself may have unwittingly assisted his nemesis in his alchemy, which has gained the grudging respect of baseball's wheeler-dealers. By blocking Finley's attempted trade of Blue to Cincinnati for \$750,000 and minor league first sacker Dave Revering, the commissioner forced Finley to find a taker for Blue who would give players instead of cash. Finley thereupon hit San Francisco for his lucky seven. The rest may be history. (Finley did get Revering for reliever Doug Bair, and the lefty slugger has become an early A's fixture.)

Hard times.

Though things look good for the A's, it hasn't been so rosy as of late. Finley's World Champion squads of '72, '73 and '74, always brimming with dissent against

Charlie's dictatorship, began to angle for free-agent status after star twirler Jim Hunter escaped on a contract technicality.

After the 1974 season (the last of Finley's five consecutive American League West playoff teams), the exodus began. By playing out options or threatening the same, such mainstays as Reggie Jackson, Sal Bando, Ken Holtzman, Joe Rudi, and Gene Tenace left the team.

When Finley tried to sell Rudi and Blue, Kuhn negated the transactions. Finley claimed he needed the money to rebuild his team, and cited baseball precedent (the sale of Babe Ruth).

Taking the Commissioner to the courts, Finley bitterly found that Kuhn had the right to call the sales invalid, as he had been empowered by baseball to do whatever he deemed "was in the best interests of the game."

Meanwhile, the A's hit rock bottom in 1977. Finishing in last and not drawing the proverbial flies, the A's were in trouble. It was not the first time.

The original Philadelphia Athletics were owned and managed for 50 years by the illustrious Connie Mack. Like Finley, Mack was faced with financial disaster after building a dynasty; not once but twice! And like the future A's owner, he tried to sell his stars. Fortunately for the game's lore, he succeeded.

From 1910 to 1914 Mack's legendary "\$100,000 infield" of Stuffy McInnis, Eddie Collins, Jack Barry and Frank "Home Run" Baker led the A's to four pennants and three world titles.

The first "team wrecker."

With the new Federal League wooing players in 1915, Mack released his famous pitchers, Chief Bender, Eddie Plank and Jack Coombs, and sold the immortal Collins to the White Sox for the staggering sum of \$50,000. The A's of yesterday fell as quickly as Finley's green-and-gold warriors. By 1916 they had compiled the worst mark in baseball annals with 36 wins and 117 losses, a .235 percentage. Editorials labeled Mack a "team wrecker."

A decade of losing teams ended when Mack, convinced a new era was underway, decided to bid for future stars, and by the end of the roaring '20s the "White Elephants" (the A's early emblem) were again baseball's greatest.

Led by future Hall-of-Famers like Lefty Grove, Jimmie Foxx and Al Simmons, they ran roughshod over the American League until the Depression met Connie's payroll and the stars were sold again.

Mack's enfeebled teams floundered for another decade until the late '40s when he produced his last teams with winning records led by pitcher Bobby Shantz.

In 1954 Mack sold the A's to Kansas City, where Finley took over in 1961. Impatient with the Kansas City attendance, Finley got league permission to move the A's to Oakland in 1968, where he made a champion of a team that had spent 20 years in the second division. It is a move, he says now, he regrets. While the franchise shakes in Oakland, Kansas City fans, nearing two million yearly, roar their approval for their dashing Royals.

There are many baseball people anxious to send Finley out to pasture. He has alienated them with his wholesale firing of managers, announcers and players, and his running feuds with other owners and the Commissioner. His ideas for orange baseballs, the three-ball walk, the designated pinch-runner and World Series night games have received varying acceptance.

What is the A's destiny? It seems certain they will stay in Oakland for the current campaign. They have switched from the temporary five-watt college radio station that began the season to their regular clear channel. Behind the mike, ironically, is Curt Flood, the former star who first declared the free-agency system that was to haunt Finley.

Just to show he hasn't mellowed, Charlie has benched his one surviving veteran, Billy North, who seeks to play out his option this year. "Never again will I showcase a player so he can get a million dollar contract elsewhere," he roared.

So the saga of the A's continues, nearly 80 years since Connie Mack started it. And the unpredictable, present edition lives up to the monicker, "White Elephants."

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